

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MEETINGS OF THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES (NARENDRA MANDAL)

Held at Delhi on the 17th November 1924 and the following days



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SUMMARY OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE OF THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES AT THEIR MEETING IN JANUARY 1924

SUMMARY OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE OF THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES AT THEIR MEETING IN AUGUST 1924.

V.

As it is necessary that the provisions of the International Radio-Telegraph Convention* should be observed throughout India, it is in the interests of all the parties that in all matters with respect to the Wireless Telegraphy and Wireless Telephony co-ordination should be maintained, and to attain such co-ordination regulations are required in order to avoid mutual interference. With this end in view, the following principles should be observed:—

I. *Wireless stations whether owned by a State or licensed by a State, required solely for communication within a State.*—It is essential, with a view to maintain co-ordination and to avoid mutual interference, that there should be previous consultation with the Government of India in regard to installation and power and before any alterations in location (in the case of fixed sets), type and power are introduced. For this purpose information is required as to the following points:—

- (a) the general purpose for which the station is required (e.g., whether it is required for public or private communications, for experimental or instructional purposes, and whether it is to be fixed or portable, permanent or temporary),
- (b) the distance over which communication is desired,
- (c) in the case of a fixed station, the approximate location, i.e., town, village, etc.

NOTE.—After receiving this information the Government of India will, having regard to the location, be in a position to advise in respect of the type of installation required and the power necessary, and to allot suitable waves to each station. Unless such advice is obtained and followed there is a risk that stations might be erected in totally unsuitable situations or that the apparatus might be quite inadequate for the purpose in view. In either case the station would probably prove to be a failure. On the other hand, too powerful a station might be erected involving unnecessary expenditure and probably causing undesirable interference with other stations.

II. *Wireless stations, whether owned by a State or licensed by a State, required for communication with a station in British India.*—Such stations can only be erected and worked under special arrangements with the Government of India and the conditions (e.g., in regard to times of working, traffic and rates) will be regulated according to the circumstances of each case.

III. *Wireless stations, whether owned by a State or licensed by a State, required for communication with a station in another State.*—Such stations can only be erected and worked under mutual arrangements effected between the States concerned through the Government of India.

IV. The following are the conditions generally applicable to all wireless stations in British India and in Indian States:—

- (a) Qualified operators should be employed whenever a transmitting set is operated,

* See Appendix, Note I.

It is the duty of the Government of India to ensure that the interests of the States with respect to the co-ordination of the wireless telegraph and telephony are maintained, and to avoid mutual interference. With this end in view, the following principles should be observed:—

I. *Wireless stations whether owned by a State or licensed by a State, required solely for communication within a State.*—It is essential, with a view to maintain co-ordination and to avoid mutual interference, that there should be previous consultation with the Government of India in regard to installation and power and before any alterations in location (in the case of fixed sets), type and power are introduced. For this purpose information is required as to the following points:—

(a) the general purpose for which the station is required (e.g., whether it is required for public or private communications, for experimental or instructional purposes, and whether it is to be fixed or portable, permanent or temporary),

(b) the distance over which communication is desired,

(c) in the case of a fixed station, the approximate location, i.e., town, village, etc.

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II. *Wireless stations, whether owned by a State or licensed by a State, required for communication with a station in British India.*—Such stations can only be erected and worked under special arrangements with the Government of India and the conditions (e.g., in regard to times of working, traffic and rates) will be regulated according to the circumstances of each case.

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IV. The following are the conditions generally applicable to all wireless stations in British India and in Indian States:—

- (a) Qualified operators should be employed whenever a transmitting set is operated,

(b) The following are the conditions generally applicable to all wireless stations in British India and in Indian States:—

IV.—contd.

qualified operator must be in possession of a certificate granted by the Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs, India, or by the competent licensing authority in the United Kingdom or in any British possession or protectorate.

2.—A qualified operator is essential for the following reasons:—

- (i) Unless he is technically qualified he will not know whether his apparatus is in correct working order or not, and will not be able to detect or remedy any faults arising from time to time. Technical qualifications are particularly necessary with the complicated apparatus employed now-a-days.
- (ii) Unless he is qualified in operating duties he will be unable to understand the working of other stations or to operate his own station correctly, with the result that he will not handle traffic efficiently, if at all, and in his efforts to obtain communication he may unknowingly cause great interference to other stations.
- (b) Call-signs and wave-lengths are allotted only by the Government of India and it is essential that they should be adhered to.
- (c) The power employed should be limited to that required adequately to provide the communication intended from time to time.
- (d) It is essential in the interests of wireless communication generally that the States should agree to observe signals of control ("suspension of working temporarily", "adjustment of wave and power," etc.), when made by Indian Government stations. Such signals will only be made on the authority of the Director of Wireless.
- (e) The States should recognise that on the occurrence of any grave public emergency, or in the interests of the public safety, the Governor-General in Council may, as a temporary measure—
 - (i) take control* of any Wireless Telegraph Station owned or licensed by an Indian State, subject to reasonable provision being made for State business, or
 - (ii) direct that any messages or class of messages to or from any persons or class of persons, or relating to any particular subject, brought for transmission by, or transmitted or received by, any Wireless Telegraph Station shall not be transmitted or shall be intercepted or detained or shall be disclosed to the Government or an officer thereof mentioned in the order.

If any doubt arises as to the existence of a grave public emergency, or whether any act done under sub-clauses (i) and (ii) of Clause III (c) was in the interest of the public safety, a certificate signed by the Political Secretary to the Government of India or, in the case of States with which the Local Government is in direct relations, a Secretary to the Local Government, would be conclusive proof on the point.

Since the responsibility will rest with the States for the working of Wireless Telegraphs and

* See Appendix, Note 2.

V.—contd.

except possibly in the case of a wireless telephone set of 30 watts or less power. A qualified operator must be in possession of a certificate granted by the Director General of Posts and Telegraphs, India, or by the competent certifying authority in the United Kingdom or in any British possession or protectorate.

NOTE I.—The question of Indian States being authorised to grant certificates is reserved for future consideration.

NOTE II.—A qualified operator is essential for the following reasons:—

- (i) Unless he is technically qualified he will not know whether his apparatus is in correct working order or not, and will not be able to detect or remedy any faults arising from time to time. Technical qualifications are particularly necessary with the complicated apparatus employed now-a-days.
- (ii) Unless he is qualified in operating duties he will be unable to understand the working of other stations or to operate his own station correctly, with the result that he will not handle traffic efficiently, if at all, and in his efforts to obtain communication he may unknowingly cause great interference to other stations.
- (b) Call-signs and wave-lengths are allotted only by the Government of India and it is essential that they should be adhered to.
- (c) It is essential in the interests of wireless communication generally that the States should agree to observe signals of control (e.g., "suspension of working temporarily", "adjustment of wave and power", etc.), when made by Indian Government Stations. Such signals will only be made on the authority of the Director of Wireless.
- (d)* In the case of public emergency it is necessary for the British Government and the States to work in close co-operation, and the Imperial Government feel confident that they may rely on the Indian States to co-operate with them as may be necessary on such occasions.

V. Since the responsibility will rest with the States for the working of wireless telegraphs and telephones within their territories, whether worked by the States or under licenses granted by the States, it is desirable that the terms of the licenses granted by the States should be similar to the terms of the licenses granted in British India.

VI. The Government of India are prepared, when desired, to advise on all matters concerning the design, siting and erection of stations. They are prepared, on payment of cost, if accommodation and staff are available, to train supervising and operating staff and to specify, and order and, if necessary staff is available, to undertake erection of apparatus and plant. It would be advantageous both to the Government of India and to States if the Director of Wireless and his Gazetted Officers could be permitted to visit wireless stations in the States, and similar visits to the wireless stations in British India could be arranged for the wireless officers of the States.

* See Appendix, Note 2.

V.—*concl'd.*

APPENDIX.

NOTE 1.—The obligations laid on the Government of India by the International Radio-telegraph Convention, which are equally binding both in normal times and emergencies, include control of—

- (a) type of apparatus,
- (b) power to be used,
- (c) characteristics of wave emitted,
- (d) waves to be used,
- (e) interference,
- (f) standards of qualification of operators,
- (g) operating procedure.

NOTE 2.—There are strong technical reasons for requiring a stricter degree of control in time of grave public emergency or in the interests of public safety, viz. :—

- (a) A Station might be required as a linking Station between two Stations in British India separated by the State in question and normally out of range of each other.
- (b) It might be desirable to organise the Stations of separate but adjacent States or the Stations of one State into a group to provide telegraph facilities for the Government of India.
- (c) The control of traffic might be desirable so as to obtain some of the benefits of (a) and (b) without actually working the Stations.
- (d) Stations might be of great value for intercepting enemy traffic, watching for illicit Stations and general intelligence work in time both of unrest and of war, which the Government of India might not have foreseen.
- (e) If a State in which there is unrest desires communication with a Station in British India it may be advantageous to the State to ask the Government of India for assistance in operating the State Station.
- (f) Protection of Stations in British India and Stations of other States from malicious interference.

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EMPLOYMENT OF EUROPEAN BRITISH SUBJECTS, PENSIONERS, AND ALIENS IN INDIAN STATES.

I.

Original summary placed before the Committee of Princes in January 1920, as a basis for discussion.

I. The obligation to obtain the prior approval of the Government of India to the employment of Europeans, the only aliens whose employment was at the time contemplated, dates from the 18th Century, and is provided for in treaties with many of the most important States, ranging from 1766 to 1881. Some treaties stipulate that the employment even of British Indian subjects requires the approval of Government. The Government of India has consistently required the observance of this obligation where imposed by treaty, and in the case of other States it has been regarded as a generally accepted, essential principle. Originally the stipulation was made in Imperial interests, at a time when the rivalry of European powers was an important factor in the politics of India. At a later date the protection of the interests of the States against adventurers came into prominence.

II. So far from entertaining objection to the employment of European British subjects or aliens by Indian States, the Government of India have every desire to encourage measures calculated to benefit the States, but the restriction is still required in Imperial interests in the case of European British subjects, of British Government servants and pensioners and of all aliens, whether European, Asian, African or American, because—

- (1) The development of potentially hostile influences in the Indian States is still a possibility which cannot be ignored;
- (2) The Government of India are responsible to other nations for the treatment of their nationals in Indian States;
- (3) They are in a position to obtain fuller information than the Darbars regarding the antecedents of European British subjects and aliens, a matter of importance in view of the danger of Bolshevik or other foreign intrigue;
- (4) They have a special interest in the welfare of European British subjects as being their own nationals, and of their own servants and pensioners of whatever nationality.

III. The present procedure is as follows:—

- (1) The Government of India desire that Darbars before taking into their employment temporarily or permanently a European British subject, a British Government servant or pensioner, of whatever nationality, or the subject of any Foreign Power should obtain through the usual political channel the approval of the authority empowered by the rules of the Government of India from time to time in force to give it.
- (2) The Government of India do not desire to be consulted regarding the employment of Indian pensioners as sepoys or menials, or in any purely ministerial capacity, or regarding extensions of service or increases to emoluments of persons other than Government servants or pensioners, engaged after consultation with them.

II.

Summary as revised by the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes at their meeting in August 1924.

Policy of the Government of India regarding employment in Indian States of European British subjects, pensioners and aliens, other than those to whom the Foreign Service Rules apply:—

- (1) The consent of the Government of India is required for the employment in Indian States of—
 - (a) Europeans and Americans on a salary exceeding Rs. 900 a month,
 - (b) Retired Members of the Indian Civil Service, or of the Political Department of the Government of India,
 - (c) Retired British Officers of the Army employed by States in a military capacity, and
 - (d) Aliens in any capacity.

The Government of India should be informed as soon as possible of the engagement of Europeans and Americans below the salary limit above specified.

- (2) In cases of emergency there is no objection to provisional appointments being made by Ruling Princes and Chiefs subject to the subsequent consent of Government which will be asked for as soon as possible.
- (3) Subject to clause (1) above there is no restriction on the employment in Indian States of Indian pensioners.
- (4) The consent of the Government of India will not be required in the case of the temporary engagement of professional people, such as barristers, Doctors, Nurses, etc., on payment of the usual fees.

Memorandum explanatory of Agendum No. 9,

Assessment of compensation for land required for Railways in Indian States.

The question of assessment of compensation for land required for railways in Indian States was, at the instance of the Standing Committee, considered by a committee of officers of the Government of India and Ministers of States in May 1924. Certain suggestions were made by this committee and the draft as revised

was placed before the Standing Committee in August 1924 and was passed by them with certain further amendments. The Summary as amended by the Standing Committee is shown in column II of the Enclosure to this Memorandum, and is for the approval of the Chamber of Princes.

Agendum No. 5

Assessment of compensation for land required for railways in Indian States.

SUMMARY AS PREPARED BY THE FOREIGN AND POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.

I

The following are the principles observed in the assessment of compensation for land required in British India and in Indian States respectively for railway purposes :—

- (i) When land in British territory is required for the purposes of railway constructed or to be constructed at the expense of an Indian State, such land, as is in private ownership, is acquired by the British revenue authorities as for a public purpose, under the provisions of the Land Acquisition Act. The State is required to pay, as compensation for the land made over to it, the actual amount of the awards paid in the case of private land, and, in the case of Government land, the full market value *plus* such incidental items of expenditure as the cost of establishment, demarcation, stationery. The State is also required to pay compensation for the value of extinguished land revenue, the amount to be settled by negotiation in individual cases, due regard being had to the indirect advantages accruing to the British Government from the railway. Where differences of opinion occur between the State concerned and the local revenue authorities as to the compensation payable on account of extinguished land revenue, an arbiter is appointed by the Local Government concerned, or, in the case of States in direct political relations with the Government of India, by the Government of India, and his decision is final.

- (ii) Before making an award in the case of private land to be acquired for a State, the responsible officer is required to give sufficient notice to the officer of the Darbar concerned, and to take into consideration any representation which such officer may make, whether orally or by letter. Such officer is afforded an opportunity of appearing in person or by agent and of producing evidence as to the value of the land, before any award relating to it is made.

- (iii) When land is required in State territory for the purposes of British railways proper, the general principle to be observed is that, so far as possible, the same degree of compensation shall be paid to the State concerned as is

SUMMARY AS REVISED BY THE STANDING COMMITTEE IN AUGUST 1924.

II

The following principles shall be observed in the assessment of compensation for land required in British India and in Indian States respectively for railway purposes :—

- (i) When land in British territory is required for the purposes of a railway constructed or to be constructed at the expense of an Indian State, such land as is in private ownership will be acquired by the British revenue authorities as for a public purpose, under the provisions of the Land Acquisition Act. The State will be required to pay, as compensation for the land made over to it, the actual amount of the awards paid in the case of private land, and, in the case of Government land, the full market value *plus* such incidental items of expenditure as the cost of establishment, demarcation, stationery. The State will also be required to pay compensation for the value of extinguished land revenue, the amount to be settled by negotiation in individual cases, due regard being had to the indirect advantages accruing to the British Government from the railway. Where differences of opinion occur between the State concerned and the local revenue authorities as to the compensation payable on account of extinguished land revenue, an arbiter will be appointed by the Local Government concerned, or, in the case of States in direct political relations with the Government of India, by the Government of India, and his decision shall be final.

- (ii) Before making an award in the case of private land in British territory to be acquired for a State, the responsible officer will be required to give sufficient notice to the officer of the Darbar concerned, and to take into consideration any representation which such officer may make, whether orally or by letter. Such officer shall be afforded an opportunity of appearing in person or by agent and of producing evidence as to the value of the land, before any award relating to it is made.

- (iii) When land is required in State territory for the purposes of British railways proper, the general principle to be observed shall be that the same degree of compensation shall be paid to the State concerned as is payable by States under

way or a railway company, or by a State or States is constructed in State territory, the general principle to be observed will be that such a railway shall enjoy the same rights as regards quarrying stone or excavating material as a railway would be entitled to in British territory,* the rates of royalty payable being determined in accordance with the rules in force in the State, subject to the maximum rates payable for similar materials in the nearest British District. In cases where there are no rules, resort will be had to arbitration in the manner provided in clause (iv) above.

(vii) When a Government railway or a railway worked by a Company, or by a State or States is constructed in State territory, the general principle to be observed will be that such a railway shall enjoy the same rights as regards quarrying stone or excavating material as a railway would be entitled to in British territory,* the rates of royalty payable being determined in accordance with the rules in force in the State, subject to the maximum rates payable for similar materials in the nearest British District. In cases where there are no rules, resort will be had to arbitration in the manner provided in clause (iv) above.

(viii) Where land outside the regular land widths, as prescribed in Sections VII and VIII and Appendix A in the Rules for the acquisition of land for railways (Enclosure to Railway Board's Circular No. 889-P.—16, dated 30th August 1918), is required for temporary occupation the procedure in British India will be under Part VI of the Land Acquisition Act, and in States in which a Law on the same lines is in force, under that Law. In cases where there is no such Law the terms of occupation and use will be settled by mutual agreement; and in case of dispute as to the terms, by arbitration in the manner prescribed in clause (iv).

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*Note.—See page.

Memorandum Explanatory of Agendum No. 10.

Radio Broadcasting in British India and its Application to Indian States.

The Summary regarding Radio Broadcasting in British India and its application to Indian States was considered by the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes at the meetings held in August 1924. The Committee agreed to the recommendation that arrangements should be made whereby a State may issue its own licenses to persons wishing to use Broadcast Receivers in the State and hand over a proportion of the fees to any Broadcasting Company which, although established in British India, does in fact serve the State, on the understanding that reciprocal arrangements will be made in the case of a Broadcasting Company established in a State.

RADIO BROADCASTING IN BRITISH INDIA AND ITS APPLICATION TO INDIAN STATES.

Broadcast Receivers

The Government of India propose to license private enterprise to provide Broadcasting services in British India in the near future. It is the intention that the Director General of Posts and Telegraphs will issue at certain Post Offices in British India licenses for Broadcast Receivers on demand and on payment of an annual fee of Rs. 10/-. Of this fee Rs. 8/- will accrue to the licensee of the Broadcasting Station. Records of the name and address of Broadcast Receiver Licensees and the location of their receivers will be kept. Under existing conditions such licenses will not be issued in respect of Receivers to be located in an Indian State. There appears to be no reason, however, why private individuals in Indian States should be deprived of the pleasures and benefits of "listening-in" to Broadcasting Stations operating in British India, and it seems desirable to devise some arrangement whereby listeners-in in Indian States may subscribe their share to the Broadcasting Service in the same manner as listeners-in in British India.

It is suggested accordingly that arrangements should be made whereby a State might issue its own licenses to persons wishing to use Broadcast Receivers in the State and hand over a proportion of the fees to any Broadcasting Company which, although erected in British India, does in fact serve the State.

Appendix to Regulation IV.

* * * * *

PART V.—STATES IN CENTRAL INDIA..

Khaniadhana, Sarila, Beri, Bihat, Garauli, Gaurihar, Banka-pahri, Bijna, Dhurwai, Tori Fatehpur, Jigni, Lugasi, Alipura, Naigawan Rebai, Nagod, Baraundha, Jaso, Kothi, Sohawal, Bhausaundha, Pahra, Paldeo, Taraon, Kamta Rajaula, Kurwai, Muhammadgarh, Piploda, Panth Piploda, Johat, Kathiawara, Mathwar, Ratanmal, Jamnia, Nimkhera.

J. B. WOOD,

Secretary to the Government of India.

FOREIGN AND POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.

NOTIFICATION.

Simla, the 12th September, 1921.

No. 645-R.—In pursuance of Regulation (5) of the “Regulations for the appointment of Representative Members” forming Part IV of the First Regulations appended to the Constitution of the Chamber of Princes, published with the Notification of the Government of India in the Foreign and Political Department, No. 262-R., dated the 8th February 1921, and amended by Notifications No. 321-R., dated the 16th March 1921, and No. 353-R., dated the 13th April 1921. His Excellency the Viceroy has approved of the following Rules for the election of a Representative Member by the Rulers of the States specified in Part V of the Appendix to Regulation IV, being Ruling Chiefs of Central India, namely:—

- (1) Each of the Ruling Chiefs specified in Part V of the Appendix to Regulation IV shall, *provided that he is ruling over his own State*, be (i) eligible for election as a Representative Member, and (ii) entitled to vote at an election of a Representative Member. Such Ruling Chiefs are hereinafter referred to as ‘electors.’

* * * * *

J. B. WOOD,

Secretary to the Government of India.

- (2) on reversion of that officer to Government service the State may be required to pay—

(a) a proportionate share of the leave allowances, if any, actually paid by the Government of India in respect of the leave, with extra leave allowance earned by him in Foreign Service, and

(b) proportionate higher contribution for pension if the Officer retires within three years of his reversion.”

**Memorandum explanatory of agendum
No. 15.**

The following Resolution will be moved by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala :—

“Resolved that this Chamber do recommend to His Excellency the Viceroy that the Resolution of the Government of India in the Foreign and Political Department No. 427-R., dated the 29th October 1920 be amplified by the addition of the following paragraph :—

No application for the appointment of a Court of Arbitration under this Resolution will be

considered unless made within 5 years of the dates on which the Darbar concerned is informed of the ruling or receives the advice in question.”

**Memorandum explanatory of agendum
No. 16.**

The following Resolution will be moved by His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur :—

“As no definite principles exist applicable to Indian States with regard to riparian rights, and various decisions have sometimes established different principles, which lead to difficulties in disputes between the States. The Narendra Mandal resolves that the following Committee be appointed to go into the whole question of riparian rights and to report ultimately to the Chamber :—

1. His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar.
2. His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanganar.
3. His Highness the Maharaja of Panna.
4. His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.
5. His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur.”

Memorandum explanatory of Agendum No. 19

THE ELECTION OF THE CHANCELLOR.

Under the provisions of the First Regulations, Part 1, clause 2, the Chancellor will hold office until the conclusion of the first annual meeting after that at which he was elected. A Chancellor has, therefore, to be elected for the period which will begin at the close of the meetings of the Chamber in November 1924. It is permissible under the First Regulations for a member, whose term as Chancellor is expiring, to be re-elected as Chancellor for a successive term, and the retiring Chancellor is eligible for re-election.

Memorandum explanatory of Agendum No. 20.

THE ELECTION OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE.

Under Part II, clause 4, of the First Regulations, the term of office of the members of the present Standing Committee will expire on the conclusion of the meetings of the Chamber of Princes to be held in November 1924, and fresh elections have to be made. The present members are eligible for re-election.

- (2) on reversion of that officer to Government service the State may be required to pay—

- (a) a proportionate share of the leave allowances, if any, actually paid by the Government of India in respect of the leave, with extra leave allowance earned by him in Foreign Service, and
- (b) proportionate higher contribution for pension if the Officer retires within three years of his reversion.”

**Memorandum explanatory of agendum
No. 15.**

The following Resolution will be moved by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala :—

“ Resolved that this Chamber do recommend to His Excellency the Viceroy that the Resolution of the Government of India in the Foreign and Political Department No. 427-R., dated the 29th October 1920 be amplified by the addition of the following paragraph :—

No application for the appointment of a Court of Arbitration under this Resolution will be

considered unless made within 5 years of the dates on which the Darbar concerned is informed of the ruling or receives the advice in question.”

**Memorandum explanatory of agendum
No. 16.**

The following Resolution will be moved by His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur :—

“ As no definite principles exist applicable to Indian States with regard to riparian rights, and various decisions have sometimes established different principles, which lead to difficulties in disputes between the States. The Narendra Mandal resolves that the following Committee be appointed to go into the whole question of riparian rights and to report ultimately to the Chamber :—

1. His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar.
2. His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanagar.
3. His Highness the Maharaja of Panna.
4. His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.
5. His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur.”

Memorandum explanatory of Agendum No. 19.

THE ELECTION OF THE CHANCELLOR.

Under the provisions of the First Regulations, Part 1, clause 2, the Chancellor will hold office until the conclusion of the first annual meeting after that at which he was elected. A Chancellor has, therefore, to be elected for the period which will begin at the close of the meetings of the Chamber in November 1924. It is permissible under the First Regulations for a member, whose term as Chancellor is expiring, to be re-elected as Chancellor for a successive term, and the retiring Chancellor is eligible for re-election.

Memorandum explanatory of Agendum No. 20.

THE ELECTION OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE.

Under Part II, clause 4, of the First Regulations, the term of office of the members of the present Standing Committee will expire on the conclusion of the meetings of the Chamber of Princes to be held in November 1924, and fresh elections have to be made. The present members are eligible for re-election.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIRST DAY.

November 17th, 1924.

The Chamber assembled at the Assembly Chamber at 11 A.M. on Monday, the 17th November 1924. His Excellency the Viceroy presided.

The following Ruling Princes and Chiefs were present :—

Kashmir.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir.

Madras (Madras States).

The Nawab of Banganapalle.

Bombay (including States of Western India).

His Highness the Raja of Bariya.
The Pant Sachiv of Bhor.
His Highness the Maharaja of Dhrangadhra.
The Raja of Jawahar.
The Thakur of Kadana.
The Thakur Sahib of Limbdi.
His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanganar.

The Thakur Sahib of Palitana.
His Highness the Maharaja of Porbandar.
His Highness the Maharaja of Rajpipla.
The Chief of Sangli.
The Thakur Sahib of Wadhwan.
His Highness the Raj Saheb of Wankaner.

Punjab (including Punjab States).

The Rana of Baghat.
His Highness the Nawab of Bahawalpur.
The Raja of Kalsia.
His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala.
The Nawab of Loharu.

His Highness the Nawab of Malerkotla.
His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.
His Highness the Maharaja of Sirmur.
His Highness the Raja of Suket.

Bihar and Orissa.

The Maharaja of Sonpur.

The Raja of Talcher.

Central India.

His Highness the Nawab of Baoni.
His Highness the Raja of Jhabua.
His Highness the Maharaja of Orchha.
His Highness the Maharaja of Panna.

His Highness the Maharaja of Rewa.
His Highness the Raja of Sailana.
His Highness the Maharaja of Samthar.
His Highness the Raja of Sitamau.

Gwalior.

His Highness the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior.

Rajputana.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar.
His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner.
His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur.

His Highness the Maharawal of Jaisalmer.
His Highness the Maharaja of Jodhpur.
His Highness the Maharao of Kotah.

Sikkim.

His Highness the Maharaja of Sikkim.

On arrival His Excellency the Viceroy delivered the following speeches:—

YOUR HIGHNESSES,

My thoughts, and I am sure yours also, centre this morning upon the very sad and very distressing news which reached us last night of the death of Mr. Edwin Montagu. He has passed away almost before he had emerged from early youth. His career will always be associated with his labours on behalf of India. He will always be remembered as an ardent and devoted champion of India's cause and lover of India's interests. Whatever differences of opinion may exist in regard to the policy with which his name has been closely associated, none will ever question his earnestness, his sincerity and his patriotism in service to India and his all-abiding enthusiastic belief in the destiny of India as bound up with the British Empire. (Hear, hear). Standing here at this moment, addressing Your Highnesses in the Chamber of Princes, I cannot but recall, as I am sure those among you do who took an active part in the organisation and the constitution of this Chamber, the zealous efforts, the valuable labours Mr. Montagu contributed in bringing about the existence of this Chamber. He played a very large part and he himself most earnestly hoped,—more than hoped, was convinced,—that this Chamber would have a successful career.

Your Highnesses, I do not propose to say more. I am well aware that you yourselves will desire to give expression to your own sentiments during the course of the proceedings of this morning. I feel myself deeply the loss of a valued colleague in the Cabinet and in the public life of England in which he and I were at one time very closely associated, and the loss of a lover of India and to me of a very old and attached and highly valued personal friend.

YOUR HIGHNESSES,

One year and nine months have elapsed since the last meeting of this Chamber and it gives me great pleasure to welcome Your Highnesses once again at this, your fourth session. I am very glad to see so many of Your Highnesses present to-day. Our meetings must be well attended if the Chamber is to fulfil the high purpose for which it was estab-

lished. It was desirable to postpone the meeting which had been provisionally fixed for November 1923, as the Chamber had met in the previous February and it was thought unnecessary to have two meetings in one year. Matters of sufficient importance to justify discussion by the Chamber of Princes can, save in exceptional circumstances, be dealt with in one annual meeting. I have always been anxious that the Chamber should not be summoned except for the discussion of matters of real interest. I know that Your Highnesses share this view and earnestly desire that the Chamber should maintain and improve its position and not be open to criticism in this respect. For this reason, I welcome the appearance of so many private resolutions among the Agenda which will add to the interest of our deliberations.

We have to mourn the loss of five Members of this Chamber who have passed away since the last occasion on which we met, His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore, in whom your Order has lost a most distinguished Member, His Highness the Maharaja of Tripura, His Highness the Raja of Narsingarh, the Raja of Chhota Udepur and the Raj Sahab of Akalkot. Your Highnesses will, I feel assured, desire with me to record our deep regret that they have passed away from us. There is in addition a Member of this Chamber to whom our heart-felt condolence is due. Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal has suffered two grievous bereavements within the space of a few months, and I am sure that Your Highnesses will desire that an expression of your profound sympathy with Her Highness and of your regret at the loss of her two distinguished sons should be communicated to her.

Since February 1923 the Standing Committee of this Chamber has met on three occasions and good progress has been made in regard to the questions under discussion by the Committee. Four Resolutions dealing with matters of considerable importance have been issued by the Government of India since the last meeting of the Chamber. These Resolutions deal with the grant of prospecting licenses and mining leases, and with the construction and maintenance of railways, telegraph systems, and telephone systems in Indian States. These questions have now been settled to the satisfaction both of the Imperial Government and the States, and agreement

has been reached in regard to those matters which call for mutual assistance and co-operation. The States will, in future, enjoy a position of greater independence in regard to the development of railways, telegraphs, telephones, and mines within their own territories, and I trust it will be found that the removal of well-meant restrictions will stimulate enterprise.

I now turn to the Agenda which is to be placed before Your Highnesses on this occasion. You will receive from Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Bikaner, Nawanagar and Alwar statements regarding their valuable work as Representatives of India at meetings and Conferences in Europe in 1922, 1923 and 1924. Our grateful appreciation is due to Their Highnesses and we felicitate them upon the very able and distinguished manner in which they performed their responsible tasks, and we shall listen with interest to the statements they are about to make. Your Highnesses will I am sure, desire to extend a hearty welcome to His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, who has just returned from Geneva, where he took a prominent part in the deliberations of one of the most important sessions of the League of Nations hitherto held. We warmly congratulate His Highness on the highly successful manner in which he has carried out the duties undertaken by him and we deeply appreciate the keenness and enthusiasm which have inspired him to insist on laying his statement before the Chamber, while the events to which it refers are still fresh in our memories. I am well aware that these duties are often undertaken by Ruling Princes at some sacrifice of personal convenience. The importance of these meetings cannot be over-estimated and I desire to express my high appreciation of the spirit that prompts them to engage in these responsibilities and to devote their capacities to these services to the Empire and to India.

The Reports of the Standing Committee on wireless telegraphy, dealings between Indian States and capitalists and financial agents, the construction of tramways, and the employment of European British subjects, pensioners, and aliens in Indian States will be laid before Your Highnesses for consideration. The summary regarding wireless telegraphy and telephony in Indian States, which has been prepared by the Committee in consultation with the

various Departments concerned, contains proposals for an organisation which the members of the Committee recommend as necessary for effective co-operation between the wireless authorities in British India and the authorities in the Indian States. Your Highnesses will readily understand the need for co-ordination if an effective system of wireless communication is to be established throughout this country. The whole atmosphere is open to messages, but, unless they are properly modulated and controlled, they will clash in the air and interfere with each other and this wonderful medium of communication may be rendered ineffectual. In regard to the summary on the subject of dealings between Indian States and capitalists you will observe that the Committee recommend that the existing system in force should be liberalised. They also recommend amendment in a similar spirit of the arrangements in regard to tramways in Indian States, while the proposals regarding the future employment of European British subjects, pensioners, and aliens in Indian States constitute a considerable relaxation of the restrictions at present in force. On this, as on other subjects, the Government of India will reserve their opinion until the views of Your Highnesses have been ascertained and the necessary authorities consulted.

There remain the summary relating to compensation for railway lands in Indian States, which is little more than a consolidation of the present rules, and that which deals with radio broadcasting, a recent development which in British India is still in its early infancy.

I now pass on to deal with certain other matters which, though they are not before the Chamber for consideration, are, I know, of great interest to many Members of your Order.

In the first place, it is, I think, desirable that I should explain to Your Highnesses the position in regard to the recommendations made by the Committee appointed by the Chamber on the 5th February 1923, to consider the recommendations of the Fiscal Commission. That Committee submitted a report to the Chamber on the 10th February making certain recommendations in regard to the future fiscal policy of the Government of India towards the Indian States. Since then the question has

been under consideration by the Departments of the Government of India which are concerned. Your Highnesses will readily understand that the question of the allocation of the customs revenue, which is the most important of the recommendations made by the Committee, is one of grave difficulty. The consideration of this matter has occupied many months and I regret that it is not yet complete. Before the next session of the Chamber, however, I hope that we shall have arrived at certain conclusions and I shall then be in a position to inform Your Highnesses of our attitude in regard to this question.

Another question, very dear to certain distinguished Members of this Chamber, is that which has come to be known as the question of the analytical and synthetical methods. Your Highnesses will remember that, when the codification of political practice was first taken up in 1919, it was suggested at the Standing Committee that an analytical rather than a synthetical method of procedure should be followed, that the general position of the Indian States *vis-a-vis* the Government of India should first be authoritatively stated, and that this should be taken as the basis for the decision of individual points and for the codification of political practice. Lord Chelmsford in his opening speech at the Conference held in November 1919 mentioned this suggestion which he described as a proposal that, in the hope of defining the true position of the States *vis-a-vis* the Government of India, we should scrutinise and test our practice in the light of general principles to be abstracted from the body of treaties and engagements, rather than by endeavouring to derive principles from the body of case-law which had gradually grown up.

The latter method of procedure is still in operation, although, as must be expected, it occasionally gives rise to difficulties. It was suggested recently at the Standing Committee that an attempt might be made to overcome the difficulties by recourse to analytical methods. A commencement was made with the examination of the most ancient treaties between the East India Company and the Indian States. It was found, however, as I had myself anticipated, before the examination had proceeded very far, that this method of analysing the relations of the Indian

States with the British Government presented great difficulties and that it would be unlikely to produce within a reasonable time any very useful results. Further exploration will be made with the object of attempting to deduce provisional principles by means other than the synthetic method. This will necessarily take time and we cannot be confident that the right solution will be found in this direction. In any event it must be distinctly understood that the further examination to which I have adverted will in no sense commit either the Government of India or the Princes to the adoption of the result.

Your Highnesses may be interested to learn the progress made towards the establishment of direct relations between the Government of India and those States which have hitherto been in political relations with Local Governments. In November, 1921, all the salute States in the Punjab were taken into direct relations with the Government of India. In October 1923 an Agent to the Governor General was appointed for the five States in the Madras Presidency, and only a few weeks ago the three Agencies of Kathiawar, Cutch and Palanpur were brought into direct relations with the Central Government through an Agent to the Governor General. A few days hence I propose to visit Rajkot in order to acquaint myself with the local conditions and to assure the Princes and Chiefs in the new Western India States Agency of the personal interest which I and my Government feel in them and their affairs.

Your Highnesses will, I think, agree that considerable progress has been made in giving effect to the policy of direct relations, but the process must of necessity be a gradual one.

The analogous problem in the case of the States already in direct relations with the Government of India has received my earnest consideration. Nearly four years ago the Gwalior State was separated from the Central India Agency and was brought into direct relations with the Government of India through a single intermediary. The case of the Rajputana Agency has also engaged the attention of the Government of India within the last few months. I am not in a position at present to make any announcement, but you may depend upon it that no decision will be reached save after most careful examination and consideration.

Your Highnesses, among the many duties of my office none is of greater importance or carries higher distinction than that of presiding at the deliberations of the Princes and Rulers at the Narendra Mandal. Permit me to add that this duty has to me become a pleasure, I regard its performance rather as a high privilege than as a heavy task. During the period of my Viceroyalty I have had the felicity to become acquainted with many of the Princes and Rulers, and, as time has progressed, the acquaintance has in numerous instances ripened into warm friendship. Consequently in each succeeding year I have approached the date of the assembling of this Chamber with increased pleasure by reason of the daily meetings which ensue during this period, with deeper knowledge of Your Highnesses' burdens and responsibilities resulting from my closer and more intimate study of them, and with wider sympathy and understanding consequent upon my own ever-growing experience of the perplexities and difficulties of Government. It is unfortunately a proposition of general application that, notwithstanding the most earnest desire on the part of a Ruler to administer his State in the highest interests of the people and his determination to labour persistently for their advantage, his actions, however beneficent, will be subject to misunderstanding and alas! too often to misrepresentation. But the wise and just Ruler will be prepared for disappointments and ready to meet difficulties. He has learnt that the march along the road of progress and development is not easy and that obstacles are certain to be encountered. These observations will doubtless lead, and probably have already led, Your Highnesses to reflections upon the political movements in British India since the introduction of the Reforms. I know that Your Highnesses have not failed to watch the course of events and have pondered upon their significance and their possible reactions on the Indian States. To some of Your Highnesses the thought may even have occurred whether those rights and privileges hitherto so scrupulously respected, whether those relations defined or undefined of the States and their Rulers with Government and the Crown in the past so carefully observed, whether that degree of sovereignty possessed by each Ruling Prince up to this time unquestioned and undisturbed, might not in

some way be affected by the changes made in the structure of Government in British India. I feel sure that, if any such apprehension should exist in any mind, I need only recall to Your Highnesses that, in the Royal Proclamation announcing His Majesty the King-Emperor's assent to the Government of India Bill of 1919, His Majesty in the clearest terms announced his determination ever to maintain unimpaired the privileges, rights and dignities of the Princes of India; and at the inauguration of this Chamber by the King-Emperor's command—His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught restated in the following memorable words the key-notes of Imperial policy in regard to these questions:—

“The sanctity of treaties is a cardinal article of Imperial policy. It was affirmed by my beloved mother the Great Queen Victoria in her famous Proclamation of 1858. It was reaffirmed by King Edward VII, and His present Majesty King George V has once more announced in his Proclamation his determination ever to maintain unimpaired the privileges, rights and dignities of the Princes. Nothing is wanting to mark the solemnity of this time-honoured engagement; and no words of mine are needed to reassure Your Highnesses that the British Government will stand faithfully by its promises.”

There are, however, aspects in which the spirit of progress and development may affect the States. While Your Highnesses can rest assured that my Government recognise freely the internal sovereignty to which your various treaties and engagements entitle you, the British Government and my Government know that they can rely upon you to continue to administer your States with justice and enlightenment. I am well aware that Your Highnesses realise and treasure the confidence that His Majesty and Government repose in you and that it is your desire ever to strive for the greater happiness and prosperity of your subjects and so to add by your actions to the strength of the Empire of which your States form a part. With changing conditions it may not always be easy to compass your desire, but the Princes have the inestimable advantage and the valuable assistance of one of the greatest of all possessions, for there is no finer heritage than the trust and attachment which the subjects of a well administered

State have for their Ruler. It will always be the task of an enlightened Ruler fully to grasp and understand changing conditions and by sagacious policy to guide and encourage the currents of thought into wise and proper channels; and thus he will retain unimpaired, nay even strengthened, those feelings of confidence and respect with which the traditions of loyalty incline the subject to look on the Ruler of the State. I am confident that, true to the obligations of your Order, Your Highnesses will meet new difficulties when they arise with wisdom and sympathy, ever keeping in view the prosperity and contentment of your subjects and ever conscious that in their happiness rests your strength and your reward.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; Your Excellency has alluded in feeling terms, which we know have come straight from the heart, to the sad death, which we all deeply deplore, of one who was a great personal friend of yours and of so many of us, of one who was a great Secretary of State for India—the Right Honourable Edwin Montagu. It was only yesterday afternoon that the Princes gathered at the informal meeting, on hearing with sincere regret of his serious condition, forthwith asked me as Chancellor to send a message of sympathy and enquiry to Mrs. Montagu. Almost immediately afterwards we learnt, whilst at dinner at Viceregal Lodge, from Your Excellency of this distressing news which came as a great shock to those of us who were present there, as I am sure it has come to the rest of Your Highnesses who have heard of it subsequently, and I am confident that it will be the unanimous desire of all the Members and Representative Members of the Chamber, that we should take this earliest opportunity of paying our sincere, affectionate and respectful tribute to the memory of a great man, a great friend, and a great statesman.

It may be a repetition, but it is a repetition of a fact of which no Indian need be ashamed, that we Indians are nothing if we are not true to our friendships, if we are not faithful to our friends, and if we are not gratefully responsive to those who have loved us and who have been imbued with a deep and generous sympathy for us and for our legitimate

aspirations and difficulties. We are not slow in appreciating in our friends those great gifts of God and we stick staunchly to our friends through good fortune as well as through adversity.

Little did I think when I saw him on more than one occasion during my brief stay in England—the last time when I saw him was on the evening before I left London for India—that we should, by his premature death, be to-day mourning the loss of one who was a true and sincere friend, who deeply and dearly loved India and the Indians, and who manifested a sincere regard for us, the Princes of India, and was an ardent champion of our rights, prerogatives and dignity. When the time comes for the historian to chronicle facts at a future date, when the din of strife and heat of controversy has long been lulled, I am positive that the verdict of posterity will be to assign to Edwin Montagu a prominent place amongst those who helped to build up and strengthen the Empire and to knit England and India closer together.

Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; this is not the occasion for rhetoric or a long speech. But what I have said has also come straight from my heart, for I shall always feel it an honour and a privilege to have been one of the close personal friends of that great statesman whose death we so sincerely deplore to-day, and it seems eminently suitable that this, the last tribute to his memory, should be paid in the Chamber of Princes, which, as His Excellency has told us just now, owes its birth so largely to Mr. Montagu's sympathetic help and perspicacity.

I now beg to move that the deep regret of the Chamber of Princes be recorded and its sincerest sympathies be conveyed to the Honourable Mrs. Edwin Montagu at the death of her husband, the tried and trusted friend of the Princes of India—the late Right Honourable Edwin Montagu.

His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanganar: Your Excellency and Your Highnesses, it is my sad and melancholy duty to second the resolution just proposed by His Highness the Maharaja Saheb of Bikaner. The shock and the suddenness of the news does not enable one to attempt an adequate eulogy on the great services to India performed by Mr. Montagu. It may be left to

periods of subsided grief and calmer moments to gauge the relative values of his historic connection with Indian affairs, and the great landmark in its progress which his association brought in; but I can say this, just at the present moment that his name will be remembered along with that of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, who gave the great Dominion of South-Africa, unity, peace and satisfaction and an honoured place within the Empire—involving, of course, freedom and political equality to England's hereditary foes and gaining by his liberal statesmanship and sagacity, their good-will and adherence and loyalty. Mr. Montagu's beloved name will rank with illustrious Englishmen of this noble type and after the present day strife and controversy raging round the Reforms gives place to a steadier outlook, a better estimate of his services will be possible, and I have no doubt that the methods by which he endeavoured, in all sincerity of his ideals and convictions, to win the hearts of the Indian people, not by imitating the Prussian mailed fist, but by applying in their highest sense, England's time-honoured standards of liberty and freedom to the needs and conditions of India's progress, will fill an imperishable page in contemporary history.

Apart from the manner and the means whereby India's equality with the Dominions within the Empire is to be achieved—and there are differences of opinion regarding this—there can be no room for controversy about the fact that Mr. Montagu gave India her promised and honoured place within the Empire, and his name will go down to posterity, linked with the affectionate gratitude of the Princes and the peoples of India for all time.

It is but fitting and proper that we, in this Chamber the existence of which is largely due to his initiative and powerful support, should take our proper share in the grief which has overwhelmed Mrs. Montagu and convey to her our heart-felt sympathies and condolences.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar : Your Excellency, Your Highnesses, it is not a very easy task to perform to speak, after he has passed away and in his memory,—about a personal friend, and one who has proved himself to be, as everybody knows, a friend of my country. The world generally keeps its sentiments suppressed during the life-

time of persons and brings forward sentiments and eulogies after the spirit has passed away. For, indeed, what exhilaration, what joy it would have been to Mr. Montagu, could he have listened,—and who knows but that his spirit may still now be listening,—to the words of eulogy, of friendship and warmth of heart that have fallen from Your Excellency's lips as well as from two of Your Highnesses in speaking in his memory? But here it is not the place nor the right circumstance for speaking so much about the personal relations that existed between myself and Mr. Montagu, about our everlasting friendship which at least in my life-time, I feel sure, will never be forgotten or lessened in my memory. But this is the occasion for paying what little tribute our inadequate words are able to give expression to, to the sentiments that are uppermost in our hearts and in our minds about his public services specially to our Order.

As has been very correctly said, he played a very significant and important part in the establishment of this Chamber. It was he who assisted it in its first infancy, indeed in its creation. It was he who fostered it during its growth to the very best of his ability, and I wonder if there is something in the coincidence hidden by the hand of destiny in the fact that he should pass away on the eve of the meeting of the Chamber to-day. I wonder if there is a meaning behind it to explain that at least he was determined to live until the child of his creation was certain of its permanent existence. As all great men in this world, if they have great ambitions to carry out or if they desire to do big things, must be prepared for, he had numerous difficulties to face, numerous obstacles to transcend. He was charged with many aspersions as regards his sentiments or his principles. We know that people made charges against him in respect of his policy in British India, perhaps some even regarding his ideals for the Indian States. Some charged him perhaps about his nationality, others from various methods of political expediency. But all those obstacles and difficulties that came in his way only made his determination, as I know from personal experience, all the stronger to carry out the great task to which he had set his hand, and now that he has steered our

ship through fair weather and foul as the result of which we are assembled here in this Chamber, I feel sure that none of Your Highnesses would have it said that we Rajput, Muhammadan, Sikh, Brahmin, Princes and Chiefs, assembled in this Chamber were friends so long as everything went well and are now likely to forget or are not able to express our sentiments when that great personage who assisted us and helped us in our difficulties has passed away to a better world. What, I ask myself, would be the best epitaph to put on his grave, and I feel the words of Mark Antony coming before me which he uttered before the body of Julius Caesar which, with very slight modification, apply very aptly in the present instance. The words are—

“He was our friend, faithful and just to us :”

Your Excellency, I am doing no more than what I feel is absolutely necessary and a heart-felt duty to perform in supporting the resolution of condolence that has been moved and supported by Their Highnesses. And in giving my heart-felt support to such a resolution I earnestly pray that Providence may give his soul rest and that reward which we are unable to give in this material world—in the world hereafter, in what we all hope is a better world.

His Excellency the Viceroy: Your Highnesses, I desire to associate myself with the resolution that has been proposed. I do not wish to add anything to what I have already said to Your Highnesses at the opening of these Proceedings. I shall, therefore, take it that Your Highnesses are all agreed in this resolution.

All Members standing, the resolution was adopted.

His Excellency the Viceroy: This resolution will be duly recorded and communicated to Mrs. Montagu.

His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanagar will now present his statement.

His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanagar: Your Excellency, I am performing a belated duty in rendering an account of my participation in the 3rd and the 4th Assembly of the League of Nations. I could not be present at the last session of this Chamber in February 1923 owing to my detention in England for

reasons of health. There was no session in last November and therefore out of the three reports due at the present session, it will be the privilege of my distinguished brother, His Highness the Chancellor to present the last report, so that I would prefer to confine my remarks and observations to salient facts and events connected with the sessions which I attended. His Highness the Chancellor's work is naturally concerned with more recent progress in the League's existence and activities and I will not trespass on the patience and good will of the Chamber by reading my reports *verbatim*, but will content myself by laying my reports on the table and inviting the attention of this Assembly to such activities and results as call for particular notice from the Indian point of view.

In the session of 1922, I had as my colleagues Lord Chelmsford who was chief Delegate for India and Sir Sivaswami Ayer. In 1923 Lord Hardinge attended the Assembly as chief Delegate and the other representative was Mr. Hasan Imam. I regard it a high privilege to have been allowed to participate in the work of the two Indian Delegations in the company of such distinguished and extremely able colleagues.

I was very ably assisted on both the occasions by Commander C. B. Fry, who freely volunteered his services in the cause of India, as he had done at the First Assembly in 1920, and acted as my Personal Assistant with great zeal, industry and energy. My Dewan Khan Bahadur Merwanji was with me at the same time and the help that I received from him was invaluable.

With these preliminary remarks I will proceed to deal very briefly with the first report.

Owing to the very regrettable inability of His Highness the Chancellor to accept the invitation of His Imperial Majesty's Secretary of State to represent the Ruling Princes of India on the Indian Delegation this year, I was invited to replace His Highness.

Though considerably handicapped, as regards my ability to be of service to the Delegation, since at such short notice neither I nor my Assistant had opportunity to acquaint ourselves with the questions on the Agenda, nevertheless I felt that my previous experience at Geneva and my many personal friendships among the other delegations

of the Assembly would be of some value, and consequently, in pursuance of my most loyal and sincere desire to be of any service considered within my power, to His Majesty the King Emperor, to the British Empire and to India, I had the honour to accept Your Excellency's invitation.

The Assembly opened on September 4th. Senor Agustin Edwards (Chili) was elected President and he proved himself a brilliantly able President. I had the honour to be appointed to the Committee for the examination of credentials of Delegates. Before proceeding further, I must express my deep grief at the death of my friend and former Chief Delegate, Sir William Meyer. He had won a position of great influence in the Assembly, which is quick to detect eminent ability and highly valued experience and competence in public business. I received numerous enquiries after him at Geneva and I feel sure that the sad news of his death has caused genuine sorrow to his many friends and admirers in the Delegations and their staff and also in the Secretariat, as well as in India.

A matter of great importance to India, politically and industrially, was the decision of the Council, which was communicated to the Assembly during this Session, to the effect that India was adjudged one of the eight members of Chief Industrial importance and therefore entitled to a nominee on the governing body of the International Labour Bureau. The original eight States of "Chief Industrial Importance" were decided upon by a committee of a Conference at Washington, when the non-selection of India, with the inclusion of States obviously less important was absurd and caused much subsequent trouble; not least to the Finance Committee IV of 1920 Assembly on which I represented the Indian Delegation of that year. Sir William Meyer delivered a pointed and convincing protest in the Assembly and I made a point, on social and other occasions, of engaging the attention of the majority of the Assembly Delegates to the absurdity of India's exclusion and my assistant conducted a concerted action to the same end.

When the third Assembly met, the Council of the League was on the point of considering a report of a committee dealing with the criteria to be adopted in deciding the selection of the eight

States; the Chief Delegate Lord Chelmsford secured permission to support India's claim in person before the Council. He did so with great ability and firmness and finally drove home a proper settlement of this troublesome and elusive question.

The eight States of Chief Industrial Importance now are; Germany, Belgium, Canada, France, Great Britain, India, Italy and Japan.

The next question to which I request your attention is regarding opium. I have attempted to give the genesis of this question in section 2 of my report.

India is naturally concerned to see that her large and willing sacrifice of revenue is not rendered unfair by the failure of other producing countries to fulfil their just obligations under the Covenant. It is clear, however, that the trade in opium and in such drugs as cocaine and morphia cannot be controlled except by loyal international co-operation, backed by sustained and expert vigilance by the League.

The real business of the third Assembly was to strengthen the hands of the Council, the Secretariat, and the Advisory Committee in securing (1) the effective control of Export and Import and (2) the restriction of production to the level of the world's legitimate needs.

On merit, India holds the most authoritative position on the opium question at Geneva and Lord Chelmsford at the third meeting of Committee V maintained this position by a very able and lucid general review of the problem and its progress. He showed how the Hague Convention with the superior administration of the League and the improved information obtained had produced substantial results and was likely to prove adequate for the suppression of abuses. In his opinion what is required is the universal acceptance of the Convention, with universal adoption of the certificate system and loyal and effective execution of its provisions, in order to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the problem.

I made a speech in the Assembly debate on opium, with the object of impressing on Delegates (as I had found very necessary from conversations with them) the established legitimate use of opium in India and also the extent of the sacrifice made by India, not only in respect of revenue, but also and especially on the part of innumerable cultivators. Further

I had found it desirable to explain as emphatically as I could that the Indians are not an "opium smoking" people. General knowledge about this is quite vague. India and China are lumped together as "opium countries". With Your Excellency's permission, I will quote one or two passages from my speech on the subject:—

"It seems to me important that more people should realise that, in certain Eastern countries, including India, quite apart from any abuse of opium and quite apart from regular scientific medical use of it, there is quite legitimate general and popular use of opium. Quite outside scientific medicine, opium has always been used in India by the people as a home-made medicine, just as various herbs and samples are even now used by the country-folk of Western nations."

It is quite important to recognise that there are—for instance, in India—a large number of people who, on the one hand, do not regard opium as a detrimental product, but as a natural product, and who, on the other hand, have suffered, and still suffer, considerable loss in consequence of State regulation of production. Intelligent opinion in India knows that State regulation of opium has involved a loss of revenue to the Government of about £40,000,000 in the last ten years, and intelligent opinion is glad that this loss is much more than compensated by the great good that has been achieved. India applauds the result, and is proud to be privileged to make, in so worthy a cause what it is fair to call a sacrifice. But even intelligent opinion sometimes overlooks the fact that the loss to producers has been not forty millions, but about 120 millions. Remember that India is, per head of population, a poor country, and in particular the cultivators are poor, and they form the large majority of Indians in India. Much of the sacrifice falls on them—some of them are hard hit by it—and they do not appreciate, because they do not know that they are sharing in the suppression of a grave abuse.

After explaining that opium was used as a sedative by hard-working and poor people and calling attention to the fact that it was very largely consumed by cattle as a veterinary medicine, I said "now if you take the total annual consumption per head of population in

India, what does it amount to? It amounts to two grams per head per annum, and that is about the weight of about two-thirds of an ordinary lump of sugar.

But when you take into account the veterinary use which is made of opium, I believe even if you take the sum of opium which is taken by human beings as the same as that taken for cattle, which is not the case, it reduces the two-thirds of a lump of sugar to one-third. So you cannot rate India as an extravagant consumer of its native equivalent of western liquors.

In this connection I may further add that no one would think of calling that great country, the United States of America, an opium consuming country, and yet, no doubt for very legitimate and proper purposes, I am reliably told, and I believe it, it consumes about twice as much opium as India."

Sir Arthur Steele-Maitland, who had misunderstood my speech as a depreciation of efforts against abuse, whereas it was an explanation of use, was delicately ironical. This roused Colonel John Ward who agreed with the point of view I had expressed; he championed me forcibly and then delivered a frontal attack on faddists. The resolutions adopted by the Assembly on the question of opium are given in section II of my report.

Another subject in which India is directly interested is the apportionment of the expenses of the League among its constituent members. This question has been of special concern to the Indian Delegation at all the three Assemblies because, not only under the original scheme of the covenant but also under the several amending schemes, which have been before the Assembly, India is rated too high.

The result at the end of the third Assembly was that what is known as the second Reveilland scheme was adopted, amended in one of its features to meet objections, but not altered in principle; it was however adopted only for 1923, and was aided by a device supplied by Lord Balfour to satisfy India and the Dominions whereby the total of the contributions of the members of the British Empire was accepted, but on an agreement to settle a satisfactory redistribution by private settlement among them.

I will speak a few words about the question of mandates, which is one of wide interest. Adherence to the Covenant involves acceptance of the general principle announced in article 22 that the well-being of primitive peoples forms a sacred trust of civilization and enjoins observance of the special undertaking under article 23 (B) to secure the just treatment of Natives. Experience of the three past Assemblies clearly indicates that cases where Members or even non-members are reasonably suspected of not having acted in accordance with the principles are more than likely to be brought forward for the attention of Committee VI and of the Assembly in connection either with Mandates or the contiguous question of Minorities. The net result is that the Mandate system, even outside mandates, promises to set a standard for the Government of undeveloped races the world over. No one present at the third Assembly could fail to see the very powerful moral authority of the League in this matter, and the establishment of this authority marks an important success for the League.

On this subject, Sir Sivaswami Aiyer made an able speech in the Assembly in support of the resolution moved by Dr. Nansen. He paid a well-deserved tribute to the members of the permanent Mandates commission for the solicitude they displayed for the populations committed to the charge of the mandatory powers and for the scrupulous regard they have shown for the letter and the spirit of article 22 of the Covenant. Your Highnesses will find this speech reproduced in annex VI of my report.

The question of protection of minorities came forward in the fourth plenary meeting of this Assembly in consequence of a resolution proposed by Professor Gilbert Murray of the South African Delegation and adopted by the Assembly to refer certain items of chapter 9 of the report on the work of the Council to a Committee of the Assembly. Although the specific cases originally in view concerned Europe and Asia Minor, the position sought to be achieved was of direct interest to India, with her acute minority questions in South Africa, the Kenya colony, and elsewhere in the British Empire, and enabled me to obtain effective attention to the long-standing grievance of the Indian minority in South Africa.

It would, of course, have been quite contrary to the spirit and the intention of the League of Nations for the Indian Delegation to remain silent while a South African Delegate of unimpeachable integrity and disinterestedness was emphasising the vital importance of the proper treatment of minorities. At any rate I personally felt in honour bound to intervene as effectively as I could; and I am happy to report the very generous and cordial treatment of the matter by the South African Delegation. At the time I made my speech on the subject I wrote an explanatory letter to Sir Edgar Walton, Premier of Cape Colony and Chief Delegate of South Africa, and I was able afterwards to make full personal representations to him, in consequence of which he most kindly volunteered to forward my letter and a copy of my speech to General Smuts, his Prime Minister, together with his own earnest approval of my appeal for attention to our South African grievances. I desire to record my deep appreciation of the way in which Sir Edgar Walton dealt with the matter.

Your Excellency will allow me to read out one or two paragraphs of my speech which is fully reproduced in my report.

"I will confine myself to the outstanding questions of the minorities which are under the South African Government. I refer, therefore, to the position of the Indian communities in South Africa under that Government. These are genuine minority questions which are of somewhat long standing; and my purpose is not at all to bring before you the cases, specifically, which perhaps would not be in order. But I have a very distinct purpose, and it is to appeal—and you may regard it as a personal appeal if you wish—to the Delegates of South Africa here present; and by the very token that they are declared champions of the rights of minorities, to ask them to influence their Government, when they return home, in favour of satisfactory settlements of these particular minority questions, which are their very own. I address my appeal to them through you all, because I feel very strongly that the atmosphere of sympathy and good feeling with which this great Assembly cannot fail to endow such an appeal, will give that appeal a vivid human power such as it could not obtain elsewhere. I want the spirit of the League of Nations, which is incarnate in this Assembly, to

grant my appeal its aid. I should feel false to my fellow countrymen in India, and also to my fellow countrymen in South Africa, were I to neglect this unique opportunity of summoning to the assistance of their aspirations their spiritual power and the spiritual blessing of your sympathy.

We of the British Empire are a big family. The British mother has taken to her bosom the grizzly bear, the Kangaroo, the lion and the ostrich, the tiger and the kiwi, and with a family of that description quarrels are bound to occur. South Africa would be more contented and more united; the Government of the British Empire would be relieved of a troublesome political reference, and India would be deeply grateful and would feel that an old wound had at last been healed. But happily there is one cardinal virtue in the British Empire, that is, when we are attacked by a common foe we are one really happy family, and the elements I have alluded to all unite together in the 'defence of the Empire.' I closed my speech with the following appeal.

"We in this Assembly believe that God made us all men, to walk erect on one earth; and we believe in one truth and in one justice, universal for all men, and it is to this atmosphere and to this faith that I make my appeal. But outside this Assembly, there have often been two justices, one for the West and one for the East. It is for the League of Nations to engraft its own conception, the far higher, the far better conception, upon the universal practice of mankind. What is our ideal? What is our purpose? What is the very reason of our being? Let us have catholic justice and we shall have catholic peace."

There is one further point I must mention in this connection. Evidently some days before I delivered my speech on minorities a rumour had somehow got about that I was going to deal with the Indian question in Africa, because Lord Chelmsford, the chief Delegate of India, received a cable from the India Office, despatched, I understand, at the instance of the Colonial Office, which he brought to my notice requesting that the Kenya Colony question should not be introduced by me, as the dispute was in process of near settlement and its introduction might be prejudicial to the satisfactory result expected. On the assurance implied I was of course glad to omit any criticism of this delicate question which

concerns the British Empire and not the South African Government, since Kenya is a Crown Colony. Lord Chelmsford, who had not previously attended the Assembly as a delegate and had not as yet had time either to gauge the atmosphere of the Assembly, or to make the personal acquaintance of the Delegates of other nations, was, I fancy, somewhat apprehensive of the wisdom of my intention to table the Indian minority grievances; but from my previous experience of the Assembly and my somewhat wide personal friendship with a large number of delegates, and particularly from my complete confidence in the broad-minded and generous character of the South African Delegation, I was quite sure of a happy event, and I was able to reassure Lord Chelmsford. I am glad to say that afterwards both he and Lord Balfour were good enough to congratulate me on the satisfactory result.

I will not detain this Chamber with matters which, though of great importance in their international and humanitarian bearing, may not be said to have a direct reference to India and yet on the work of intellectual co-operation, we had the advantage of the services of a very remarkable committee of experts including Professors Einstein, Henri Bergson, Gilbert Murray and Millikon and Madam Currie; and on their recommendation, Monsieur Reynald of France proposed the restoration in the budget of the original appropriation of 180,000 francs. I spoke second in support. This roused hot opposition from New Zealand, Australia and South Africa. The question went to the vote and our proposition was passed by 25 votes.

The disarmament question carried the work of the past session to a further stage of deliberation and agreement, but in the last session, which His Highness the Chancellor had the privilege to attend, it reached a decisive stage and will I presume, receive fuller treatment, which its importance deserves, from His Highness and therefore I need not tax the attention of the Chamber with the details of the intermediate progress marked in 1922.

During the session of the third Assembly, the Council and its special committee on Austria succeeded within four weeks, in establishing a definite working basis for the rescue of Austria from her morass of difficulty and despair—a

task which had baffled the supreme Council of the Allies for years and which they finally handed over to the League in August 1922; its advisory and technical assistance was invited in January 1921. The settlement achieved involves difficulties of continuous execution; but the position is now an entirely different one from what existed before. It is fair to regard it as probably the greatest political success of the League; and I am afraid the League has received but a small share of the due credit.

Without dwelling on minor questions, which, it will be found, have received adequate treatment in my printed report, I will pass on to the work of the fourth session of the Assembly in 1923, reserving my general observations on both the sessions for a combined reference at the end of my remarks.

But before doing so, I feel it my duty to report on one matter which has had an important bearing on the position of India in Geneva. When the election of non-permanent members of the Council came on, I was approached by a number of the smaller European and by some of the South African Delegations as to whether India would stand for a place. On investigation I found that we might hope for 27 and perhaps 29 votes which would have secured our election. I, of course, reported the situation to Lord Chelmsford and to Lord Balfour. My own view is that India should have accepted the position, which view I humbly still submit but, of course, Lord Balfour's decision was loyally accepted.

The fourth Assembly was opened on September 3rd 1923 by Viscount Ishii, the acting President of the Council and was in session till September 29th. The choice for the office of President fell on M. Cosme de la Torriente Peraza, Delegate of Cuba, who proved an efficient and business-like President.

I was elected chairman of Committee II and was therefore a member of the general committee of the Assembly, along with the six vice-presidents and five chairmen of the other committees, elected by the Assembly. All these are Vice-Presidents of the Assembly and are individually and collectively charged with a considerable addition to the normal duties of a delegate.

The opium question was dealt with this year, by Committee V on which

India was represented by Lord Hardinge, the Chief Delegate. The results achieved by this committee were embodied in six resolutions which were adopted by the Assembly. These resolutions adopted the reports of the Advisory Committee and requested the Council to invite the Governments concerned to convene a conference with a view to examine the question of the limitation of the amounts of morphine, heroin and cocaine and their respective salts to be manufactured; of the limitation of the amounts of raw opium and coca leaf to be imported for that purpose and for other medicinal and scientific purposes, and of the limitation of raw opium and coca leaf for export to the amount required for such medicinal and scientific purposes.

In the Assembly, I made a statement declaring the policy of India and I read a speech which Mr. Hasan Imam had prepared, but was prevented by illness from delivering himself. Your Excellency will permit me to quote my short statement on behalf of India. "On behalf of the Indian Delegation, I desire to be allowed to congratulate the League of Nations, and its Fifth Committee and the Advisory Committee on the excellent progress that has been made in the important international question regarding opium and dangerous drugs. The Government of India has always given its most complete adherence to the convention, and has used every effort to carry out its terms. The success achieved in this manner by India is recognised by all. India will continue its settled policy in this direction. The Government of India will co-operate fully with the League of Nations in its efforts to further this great cause internationally. As regards *internal* administration within India, the Government has set its face against, and has done its best to eliminate in a common-sense manner all forms of deleterious addiction. It requests all nations to give it their confidence in this matter, and particularly to recognise that India cannot regard as illegitimate the use of opium as a home-made medicine, which is general throughout India. India will not allow the deleterious use of opium for addiction purposes in India so far as stringent laws and efficient administration can prevent it. The internal administration of opium questions in India is in the hands of Indian ministers, and is controlled by elected assemblies. I may

further add that opium is a Government monopoly, and speaking on behalf of the Indian States, autonomous or otherwise (such for instance, as my own) could not export it without the permission of the Government of India, and could only export it through their agents.

"Since the cessation of the Chinese traffic in 1913 no opium produced in the States of the Indian Princes has been exported from India."

Regarding the apportionment of the cost of the League among members, no settlement was attempted at the Fourth Assembly, nor was India able to secure a reduction in her contribution. The Allocation committee reported that it was not able to produce a definitive scheme in time for the assembly and there was no course open except to extend to 1924 the provisional apportionment known as the Second Reveilland Scale. Internal settlement among the members of the British Empire did not take place and India was left in the same position as before the Balfour compromise. Hence the Indian Delegation went to Geneva with instructions to bring forward a claim for relief on the ground that the allocation of 65 units, which nearly represented 7 per cent. of the expenditure of the League, was too high. I made the following statement in the Assembly on behalf of the Indian Government:—

"The resolution before the Assembly renews, with slight modifications for 1924, the scale which was approved for 1924 only. The Indian Delegation will abstain from voting on the present resolution. Perhaps I may be allowed to explain the reason of India's abstention. The Government of India is ready to acquiesce in the temporary renewal of the scale. It will do so in a spirit of co-operation and from a desire to avoid making its own point of view a cause of difficulty to this Assembly. But the Government of India is anxious, first that this acquiescence this year should not be interpreted to mean that India is satisfied with the incidence of the present scale proposed in the resolution, and secondly, my government is anxious that India should make it clear that she reserves full liberty to object to the present proposed scale at the assembly of 1924 should there then be a proposal to continue this scale."

I will now refer to the Italo-Greek question, which arose almost about the

time the fourth session commenced at Geneva and naturally overshadowed all other questions before the League.

Some Italian officers acting on the Boundary Commission for the Conference of ambassadors in Southern Albania were murdered on the 27th of August. Two days later Italy sent an ultimatum to Greece. Greece replied on August 30th accepting four of the seven demands, but refusing three, which she said were derogatory to her sovereignty and offered to submit the whole case to the League of Nations. She also declared her acceptance of the League's decision in advance. Italy immediately declined to concur in a reference to the League. On August 31st the Ambassadors, who were parties in the matter, delivered a note to Greece. On the same day Italy bombarded and occupied Corfu.

The Council of the League was already in Session and on September 1st, the Greek application was presented by M. Politis. It was based upon articles 12 and 15 of the Covenant, under which any member of the League has the right to submit to the League any dispute likely to lead to a rupture with any other member of the League and under which the Council is bound to endeavour a settlement. Signor Salandra, the Italian Representative on the Council, who had then received no instructions from his Government requested an adjournment, but put forward the point that the conference of Ambassadors was the proper authority to deal with the matter and not the Council of the League. There was no doubt that the Ambassadors were involved in the first instance, because the murdered General was their Commissioner and they had taken up the matter. The Council adjourned after passing a resolution expressing the hope that both parties to the dispute would avoid any action calculated to aggravate the situation.

Before the Council met after an interval of two days, the Greek note in reply to the Ambassadors was received in which Greece stated that she would accept judgment from the Ambassadors. Meanwhile the Italian Government in Rome published a declaration denying the competence of the League; and the session of the Assembly opened at Geneva on September 3rd.

On September 5th, the Italian Representative made a statement to the Council, denying the competence of the

League, but the terms used were much more moderate than those promulgated at Rome. In reply, Lord Robert Cecil caused Articles 12 and 13 to be read out, called attention to the duties of the Council under these and showed that to infringe these duties was not only to break the Covenant, but also to break the Treaty of Versailles of which the Covenant was a part. This procedure made a considerable impression. Signor Salandra then made it evident that Italy would accept the Conference of Ambassadors as a "Court" to decide what the settlement between Greece and Italy should be and not merely as the proper authority to deal with the offence against the Ambassadors. Thus Italy and Greece both expressed an agreement to accept a settlement from the Ambassadors. The Council at once seized the opportunity to promote this settlement. Terms of settlement were drafted by several leading members of the Council and were put forward on September 6th by the Spanish Representative. Italy objected to accepting the proposals from the Council, on its plea of non-competence, but consented to an adroit suggestion that the minutes of the proceedings as a whole should immediately be forwarded to the Ambassadors. The Conference of Ambassadors met on September 7th and adopted the proposed terms of settlement with slight alterations. These terms were subsequently accepted by Italy and Greece.

In the words of the Chief Delegate of Great Britain, the Council did exactly what it ought to have done under the Covenant. Its business was to promote a settlement and it carried out that duty absolutely.

But the challenge to the competence of the League remained. The Council then pursued a scheme for obtaining a unanimous agreement to submit a set of questions—including the competence of the League in certain cases, the right to seize territory in order to enforce demands and the responsibility for political crimes committed on the territory of a State to the Permanent Court of International Justice. Legal advisers were called in and the questions were carefully debated and framed. The Italian Representative refused to agree that one question relating to 'competence' should go to the Court, and eventually, under strong protests from several members, it was

decided to submit questions, not to the Court, but to a Committee of Jurists who were to report to the Council. This course was agreed to by the Italian Representative and in this manner, Italy clearly withdrew its dangerous contentions against the competence of the League.

On September 21st Viscount Ishii announced the settlement of the dispute to the Assembly. Monsieur Motta spoke in general appreciation of the fact that a settlement had been achieved. At the request of the British Delegation, which desired that some member of the British Empire should make a declaration affirming the competence of the League and the illegality of reprisals under the Covenant, I made, at rather short notice, the speech which is reproduced in my report. After expressing my heart-felt sympathy with the great Italian nation in the righteous indignation to which she was moved by an atrocious crime, I laid stress on the competence of the League to insist on the peaceful settlement of disputes arising between its members and said:—

"In so far as any one member of the League fails to live up to the principles of the Covenant, just so far does the League fail to be its true self; for the League can succeed only by the faithfulness of each one of its members. We are all imperfect, every one of us. Let the Nation without sin cast the first stone. But as a corporate body, let us not forswear one jot of our principles even if we forgive one another unto seventy times seven. We must not fear to declare our faith. The League does not set out to impose settlements—that is not its nature—but to promote agreements. When time gives us complete calmness and allows excited ignorance to subside, all the world will see how wise the Council has been and how forbearing, in the end, all parties have proved themselves."

"Under the old order, before this family of nations came into being, the right of reprisal no doubt held good; but under the new order which everyone of us has accepted, and to which everyone of us has set his signature, we hope that this is all changed. The League of Nations is the citadel of a new age, if so be that we choose to make it such. Above all, we must be, we must see ourselves as, and we must cause the world to find in us, the citadel of refuge of the small nations."

My speech was well received by the Assembly and led to no untoward result beyond the sudden inability, through illness, of all the Italian Delegates to dine with me as promised the same evening. On the 28th September, Viscount Ishii read out the resolution of the Council which definitely disposed of the main challenge to the competence of the League and also read out the questions to be submitted to judicial opinion. This finally released the whole matter for debate. Great Britain, Sweden, Norway, South Africa, Holland, Finland, Persia, Ireland, Denmark and others testified unhesitating and unqualified adherence to the Covenant. I also had the privilege to make a very short statement on behalf of India, which was very heartily applauded probably because of its brevity. I said "The Indian Delegation is much gratified to express its full approbation of the decision of the Council, which it considers both conciliatory and wise, and also worthy of the dignity of the League of Nations. I feel sure that this decision will have a reception in all nations and amongst all the peoples worthy of its wisdom."

I will now touch briefly on subjects which were allotted to Committee No 2, of which I was elected Chairman. In that capacity, I was responsible for the arrangement and order of the Agenda and for the conduct of the meetings. The following is the list of subjects which came before this committee:—

The work of the Economic and Financial Committees.

The work of the Advisory and Technical Committee on communications and Transit.

The work of the Health Organisation of the League, including the work of the Epidemic Commission.

Reconstruction of Austria, which is one of the early triumphs of the League's activity, came before this Committee. I will not trespass upon the time of the House any more than I can possibly help. Therefore I will continue my general remarks.

I will not burden my remarks with the budget and finance matters, assigned to committee IV on which I represented the Indian Delegation. My observations are offered in order to invite attention to prominent features of the report and

not to introduce details which are dealt with in an adequate manner in the body of the reports. But I feel bound to make, with Your Excellency's permission, a few general observations based on my experience of the League and my study of its many-sided activities and interests.

The Assembly is now worked by a majority of Delegates and staffs with several years of direct experience of the procedure and business of the League and no delegation can function successfully at Geneva unless both in the Delegates and in the Staff a reasonable degree of continuity is studied. During my work throughout the whole proceedings of the 1923 Assembly, I may say I was strongly confirmed in this opinion. It is evident that new delegations and staffs are much handicapped; and as an instance, I would cite the Italian delegation, which happened to be involved in a very serious matter and which would certainly have done much better, had it contained such representatives as Signor Titoni and Signor Schanzer whose personal influence with other delegates would have saved much trouble; in fact, I am of the opinion that Signor Scialoja's personal influence went far to save a very serious development of the Italo-Greek dispute. Again the force of the Japanese delegation resides largely in the person of Baron Adatchi, whose attendance as a delegate has been regular since 1920, who has every question in all its ramifications at his finger's ends and who is universally known and liked.

I would also observe in this connection that a delegation cannot function successfully, without substitute-delegates to take the place of delegates on committees. This applies especially in the case of a delegate being elected Chairman of a committee or sub-committee. I could not have done justice for instance, to my chairmanship of committee II in 1923, coupled with my duties as Vice-President of the Assembly, had not my Personal Assistant, Commander C. B. Fry, been appointed as substitute-delegate to take my place when I could not attend committee No. IV. I would point out that it was quite accidental that my Personal Assistant had considerable previous experience of the Assembly and was fitted by reason of his qualifications and ability to undertake the important duties on Committee IV with success.

I therefore respectfully suggest that the question of substitute-delegates is important, and it might be made to subserve the purpose of providing continuity of representation, or of providing preliminary experience for future delegates.

I would also state that, having the good fortune to be able to entertain with some freedom, and believing that the social diplomatic side of the Geneva occasion is very important in regard to promoting mutual friendship and understanding between the representatives of the States-members, I did my best in 1922 and in 1923 to give my brother delegates of all nations as good opportunities as I could to provide for meeting one another at small private dinners and luncheons; in fact, there were very few delegates in 1923 who did not honour me with their company. This, I feel sure, would be in conformity with the wishes of Your Highnesses, whom I had the honour to represent on the delegation.

During the session of 1923, I am glad to observe, I had the advantage of the services, willingly and zealously placed at my disposal by my relative the Yuvraj of Limbdi, who acted as my Military Secretary and rendered me great assistance in the social side of my work.

Your Excellency, I consider it a great privilege that I was appointed by Your Excellency, to represent my Order, on the Assembly of the League of Nations for the third time, during its existence of five years, not as a substitute member but as a full delegate which shows that Your Excellency was not dissatisfied with my work on past occasions, and I sincerely trust I may have been able to achieve at least some measure of success in realising my earnest desire to serve His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor, the Government of India, my country and my brother Princes.

Before resuming my seat, I beg to be allowed to refer to the eminent and splendid services in the cause of India, rendered by His Highness the Maharaja Saheb of Alwar as one of the representatives of India at the Imperial Conference held in October last year. I was then in London and it is with a feeling of unfeigned pride and gratification that I testify to the gallant fight put up by His Highness and Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, in the interest of our nationals residing in South Africa, under the leadership of Lord Peel,

whose presentation of the Indian case at the conference was magnificent and masterly.

His Highness' great admiration for the statesmanship of General Smuts has led to criticism in this country which, if I may be allowed to say, does scant justice to His Highness' superb work and I am taking this opportunity whilst differing from His Highness' expressed views on one or two points—and even at the risk of anticipating what I am certain will be the enthusiastic opinion of this Chamber—of paying my warm tribute to His Highness for his great advocacy of the South African question at the conference.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; In 1921, when I had the privilege of moving a vote of thanks to His Highness the Maharaja Jam Saheb of Nawanagar after the Chamber had heard the first statement of his work during his first visit to the Assembly of the League of Nations, I dwelt particularly upon a striking feature of His Highness' success, namely, the establishment in a remarkable degree of personal friendly relations not only with the Delegates of the British Empire but also with those of other parts of the world, which His Highness had established.

When I went on the last occasion to attend the fifth Assembly of the League of Nations I was under no delusions as to the difficulties which I would experience in following His Highness there. This feeling was brought home to me all the more vividly by coming in personal contact with the host of His Highness' staunch friends and sincere admirers, whom we met at every turn and far beyond the confines of Geneva.

On the present occasion, after listening to His Highness' interesting and comprehensive statement, I consider it not only a duty but a pleasure to move yet another hearty vote of thanks to His Highness on the great success and the great value of his work on two more similar missions in 1922 and 1923. I should also like—with the knowledge and experience gained by me during my recent visit to the League of Nations—to emphasise the fact of the wonderfully cordial relations which His Highness has been unique in establishing with his colleagues from all countries and of various

nationalities through his great courtesy and charm of manner and the many qualities of head and heart with which he has been endowed. He has thereby been the means of winning added lustre and respect for his Motherland and for his Order. To show that I am not talking in an exaggerated sense out of my personal friendship and attachment to His Highness, I need give only one concrete instance, and that is that His Highness was the first and, so far, the only Indian who has had the distinction of being elected by the Assembly to preside over one of their big Committees which are annually appointed and which deal with the greater portion of the important and spade work. These posts which carry with them great responsibilities and involve heavy labour and which denoted the confidence and esteem in which the person elected to preside over the Committees is held, were much coveted, as I may say, by the world. His Highness' work and the close friendly relations which he established with the members of the various Delegations have also been instrumental, in no small degree, as we found to our benefit, in adding to the dignity and prestige of the Indian Delegation and to the weight which their views carried in the deliberations of that great International body.

To those of us who know by personal experience what a sacrifice of time and energy it means for the Ruler of a State to have to devote himself to matters of wider concern, to which Your Excellency has been pleased to refer just now, it will be obvious that our warmest thanks are due to His Highness the Maharaja Jam Saheb of Nawanagar for the great zeal and public spirit with which he is always ready to serve the Empire and our Order. And now, without inflicting a longer speech on the House, I propose a hearty vote of thanks to His Highness and offer him our sincerest congratulations on the oft-repeated success which has attended each of his various International missions and the valuable services that he has rendered to his country.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar: Your Excellency, I did think at the beginning that an opportunity that seldom falls to me has come at last when after listening to His Highness of Nawanagar's statement on the League

of Nations I should be in a position to pass all kinds of remarks about His Highness when making my statement before the Chamber on the Imperial Conference, as His Highness was going to desert our House. But apparently His Highness' intuition or telepathy has gone further than I thought—as he has already presaged the event by making all kinds of remarks about me in his own statement. While I now have an opportunity of retaliating and am already on my legs to face the guns, I must confess my incapacity to do full justice to the task which with pleasure I have taken upon myself. I have no intimate knowledge with even that two grains per head of opium question or with epidemic commissions or with something or someone of Cuba. Generally, when such statements have come before us in this Chamber in the past, I think we have enjoyed—some of us at least—a well earned rest during the heavy recitations. But on the present occasion His Highness has put a certain amount of life in his statement and it was not possible to enjoy even that short rest that we did before. His Highness has attended three meetings, I believe, of the League of Nations. And the first question that comes before my mind is—what is this League of Nations? That various nations send their representatives to attend at Geneva to discuss important problems, big problems, world problems, are matters that everybody knows. But it is rather interesting to study the basic natural law which is working beneath the idea of the establishment of this League. We go back to the time of Adam and Eve, we see individuals growing into families, families enlarging into communities, communities developing into societies, societies widening into nationalities, and nationalities becoming gradually merged into international ideals until, I believe, a time must come, according to the natural sequence of events when international problems will become universal. I believe that the League of Nations is merely an expression of the inherent law working through the minds of men in the march of progress of events and as our States and our small countries look at bigger problems from wider points of view until they become national questions. So the League is formed to deal with national questions which are fast becoming international. Even though the present League

may be in its embryonic stage at present, nevertheless it has to fulfil its destiny. Whoever belongs to it to-day or whoever may belong to it to-morrow, I believe it is going to become a permanent institution for bringing various nationalities in this world together so that they may begin to understand each other and by coming face to face through their representatives appreciate each other's difficulties. It is only then that they will be able to share and profit from individual experiences for the common good of humanity. If that is a right conception of the League of Nations and the fundamental principles on which it is based, then is it not indeed a matter of the sincerest congratulation to us all that the Prince from our Order who has been selected to attend such a gathering where these world problems are involved should be one who has been able to imprint his own name and personality first in the hearts of that great country, England, then later, on the minds of his own countrymen and now finally in the estimation of the members of this great House where world problems are hammered out on the anvil. And what has all this success been principally due to? I have been thinking over the question myself. I believe it to be because His Highness has been a great cricketer and all through his life with friends or with foes he has played cricket. It is then no matter of surprise for those who know His Highness intimately and it only seems natural that he should have succeeded at such a gathering amongst people of different nationalities and should have represented the cause of India not only on behalf of the Indian Princes but also as one of the representatives of India. In passing this vote

of congratulations and thanks, we are but fulfilling a conventional yet pleasurable duty but our sentiments of appreciation that we feel in our hearts cannot be expressed. With these words, I second the resolution for the vote of thanks moved by my colleague, His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner.

His Excellency the Viceroy: I imagine there is no necessity to put this resolution of vote of thanks to the vote as I am certain that it will be carried with acclamation. I desire to add that there is no tribute which has been paid either by His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner or by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar to which I do not subscribe. Indeed, I would only say this at this moment that if I had expressed myself I could not have done it better. Indeed, I would not have done it as well.

His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanagar: Your Excellency and Your Highnesses, I must convey my grateful thanks for the manner in which Your Highnesses have been pleased to pass the vote of congratulations and thanks this afternoon so generously proposed and seconded and supported by His Excellency. I have done my best and in doing that I have only done my duty. It will always be my pleasure and it will always be my endeavour to serve not only my King and country but my Order.

His Excellency the Viceroy: It is rather late now and we had better postpone further business until to-morrow.

The Chamber of Princes then adjourned till Tuesday, the 18th November 1924, at 11 o'clock.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECOND DAY.

November 18th, 1924.

The following Ruling Princes and Chiefs were present:—

Kashmir.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir.

Madras (Madras States).

The Nawab of Banganapalle.

Bombay (including States of Western India).

The Pant Sachiv of Bhore.

His Highness the Maharaja of Dhurangadhra.

The Thakur of Kadana

The Thakur Sahib of Limbdi.

The Thakur Sahib of Palitana

His Highness the Maharaja of Porbandar.

His Highness the Maharaja of Rajpipla.

The Chief of Sangli

The Thakur Sahib of Wadhwan.

His Highness the Raj Sahib of Wankaner.

Punjab (including Punjab States).

The Rana of Baghat.

The Raja of Kalsia.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala.

The Nawab of Loharu.

His Highness the Nawab of Malerkotla.

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.

His Highness the Maharaja of Sirmur.

His Highness the Raja of Suket.

Bihar and Orissa.

The Maharaja of Sonpur.

The Raja of Talcher.

Central India.

His Highness the Nawab of Baoni.

His Highness the Raja of Jhabua.

His Highness the Maharaja of Orchha.

His Highness the Maharaja of Panna.

His Highness the Maharaja of Rewa.

His Highness the Raja of Sailana

His Highness the Maharaja of Samthar.

His Highness the Raja of Sitamau.

Gwalior.

His Highness the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior.

Rajputana.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner.

His Highness the Maharaja Rana of Dholpur.

His Highness the Maharawal of Jaisalmer.

His Highness the Maharaja of Jodhpur.

His Highness the Maharao of Kotah.

Sikkim.

His Highness the Maharaja of Sikkim.

Agendum No. 5.

1. Report of the Standing Committee regarding the construction of tramways in Indian States.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; as the Chamber last met in February 1923 I feel that, as Chancellor, I should be failing in my duty if I did not bring to the notice of Your Excellency and Your Highnesses some of the more salient features and important details connected with the work of the Standing Committee during the past 21 months, to some of which Your Excellency has made a reference in your opening Address. And I would beg for the indulgence of the Chamber if in presenting the Report of the Standing Committee on Tramways, which I do for your general approval, I also give Your Highnesses a brief review of such work.

It is not necessary for me now to allude to the reasons which led to the postponement of the Session of the Chamber of Princes last cold weather, as His Excellency's reference to it yesterday will have allayed the apprehensions which I have at times heard expressed and reassured all concerned that there is no intention on the part of His Excellency or the British Government to discourage the meetings of the Chamber or to depart from the provision made in the rules laid down for the conduct of business for the holding of an annual Session at Delhi.

The Standing Committee met on no less than four occasions during the intervening period, or twice more than would have been possible had the Chamber met a year ago.

The first was a very brief session held on the 10th February 1923, when the report of the Ministers' Sub-Committee on the question of Railway Jurisdiction was taken up, but as no conclusions could, within the short time at our disposal, be arrived at, then, further consideration of the matter was postponed till the next meeting. The question of Air Navigation was also taken up when only Their Highnesses of Gwalior, Cutch, Dholpur and myself were able to be present, but this subject too—in the words of the communication from the Political Secretary to me—could not be discussed in the Standing

Committee "except in a cursory and preliminary manner".

So far as I can ascertain, none of the papers relating to the work then done by the Committee has been circulated, nor has really sufficient progress been made in the matter for them to be circulated to the States, and on the distinct understanding that this question is going to be further discussed by the Standing Committee and that its recommendations regarding this important subject of Air Navigation—which involves the question of the Sovereignty of the States over the Air—will be submitted to the Chamber and also thereafter circulated to the States in accordance with the usual procedure followed in the past, I do not consider it necessary for me to take up the time of the Chamber in dealing further with the matter to-day. I should not fail to omit that, though unable to be present at the meeting, Their Highnesses of Patiala and Alwar told me that they also attached the greatest importance to the question and authorised me to say that they agreed with me on the general principles I urged in this connection.

The second session of the Standing Committee was held in Simla from the 4th to the 8th September 1923, which may, I think, be fairly described in some ways as the most momentous, and ultimately the most satisfactory, of all the sessions held since we last presented our Reports to the Chamber. The following were the more important subjects dealt with:—

- (1) Construction of Railways.
- (2) Construction of Telegraph lines.
- (3) Question of the exclusion of Panth Piploda, Jamnia and Nimkhera from the list of lesser Chiefs in Central India entitled to vote for a Representative Member in the Chamber of Princes.
- (4) Cession of Jurisdiction over Railway lands.
- (5) Telephone lines in Indian States.
- (6) Wireless telegraphy and telephony.

Of these the summary regarding the construction of Railways in Indian States, which it will be remembered was presented to the Chamber in 1921, and

had received the general approval of the Chamber, and which was sent back to us for revision and reconsideration with some important portions considerably altered, caused us for the time very serious anxiety. But I am glad to be able to add in regard to this, as also in regard to the Summary relating to Telegraphs, that we were able to achieve ultimately the most satisfactory and important results which, though they did not secure to the States all that we could have hoped and wished for, was decidedly a great advance, as His Excellency told us yesterday, on the old policy and condition of things. Instead of taking up the time of the Chamber by going into details, I propose to circulate to Your Highnesses the matters then dealt with in the usual parallel columns which will show everything at a glance, and it only remains for me to give expression to our sense of sincere indebtedness to Major Ogilvie, then Acting Political Secretary, Mr. Hindley, the Chief Commissioner of Railways, and Colonel Sir Danvers Waghorn, then a Member of the Railway Board, for their sympathetic and liberal attitude in regard to the matter. Last but not the least, I must also mention Sir Muhammad Shafi, the Law Member of Council, who came to our assistance by drafting an amendment which, with some verbal alterations, was adopted by the Committee. In this connection, it is also necessary as a precautionary measure to emphasize, and to invite attention to, what has been recorded in paragraph 25 of my Note dated the 20th October 1923, which I submitted to His Excellency, and which besides generally dealing with other important matters connected with our Standing Committee work, deals particularly with the question under discussion, *viz.*, Railways in Indian States.

To Mr. Geoffrey Clarke, Director General of Posts and Telegraphs we are also no less indebted for his broad-minded and sympathetic assistance in meeting, wherever it lay in his power, our reasonable points in regard to the question of Telegraphs as also of the other subjects with which his Department was concerned.

Since then the resolutions of the Government of India in regard to the Construction of Railways, and the Construction of Telegraph lines in Indian States, have been issued which will have

already received Your Highnesses' attention.

A resolution has also been similarly issued by the Government of India in regard to Telephones.

I regret that I forgot so far to refer to the important details which are embodied in the Government of India resolution regarding "clear the line" and "priority" telegrams, which are the outcome of the labours and efforts of the Standing Committee. In this connection, I invite Your Highnesses' attention to the concluding portion of the Government of India Resolution No 242-I., dated the 6th December 1923, in regard to Telegraphs.

I am sure it would also be Your Highnesses' desire that I should tender, on our united behalf, our grateful thanks to His Excellency the Viceroy for the prompt and satisfactory manner in which these resolutions were issued soon after our Simla session in September 1923.

Jurisdiction over Railway Lands in Indian States.—I had given in my speech in the Chamber on February 10th, 1923, a brief history of the progress made in regard to this very important and intricate question which will be found on pages 94 to 98 of the Proceedings of the Chamber for that year. As I informed Your Highnesses on that occasion the Standing Committee after discussing the various alternatives arising out of the report of the Committee of Ministers was then not able to come to any final decision in regard to the question and that this point together with the other outstanding points was proposed to be dealt with by the new Standing Committee. Accordingly, the Committee met and discussed this question at a very important meeting on the 6th September 1923, when it came to the conclusion that a detailed examination of the subject was necessary in order to settle:—

- (1) Minimum jurisdiction, if any, required for railway purposes and
- (2) changes in the present amount of jurisdiction ceded in individual cases in order to satisfy the principle.

They were also of the opinion that this detailed examination could best be made by the officers of the Government of India concerned and it was decided that

a period of 3 months should be allowed for this examination and that thereafter the Special Committee consisting of the officers of the Government of India and two Ministers should assemble to consider the question further. The Princes on the Standing Committee nominated Sir Manubhai Mehta of Baroda and Colonel K. N. Haksar of Gwalior, subject to the consent of Their Highnesses of Baroda and Gwalior, for the purpose. In this case also we are particularly indebted for the assistance received from Sir Muhammad Shafi, Major Ogilvie, Mr. Hindley and Sir Danvers Waghorn. To the particular Ministers of Indian States, who were of such immense assistance to us and who fought the battles of the Indian States with such devotion, consistency and fair-mindedness, it is impossible to pay an adequate tribute, and we are also indebted to the other Law Officers of the British Government who helped to straighten out and smooth matters. May I also take this opportunity of expressing our gratitude to the other Ministers who have similarly rendered help on other Committees from time to time?

In accordance with the wishes of the Standing Committee, the question was discussed by Mr. Hindley, Mr. Graham, and Major Ogilvie; the difficulties, legal and otherwise, were considered and a conclusion was arrived at that the best method of dealing with the case was to take up separately the case of each State through which a railway runs, and ascertain how far the principle accepted at the last meeting of the Standing Committee could be applied. The views of Mr. Coupland, Inspector-General of Railway Police, Rajputana, were also elicited. At the meeting of the Standing Committee held in January last, the position was explained to the Princes and it was decided to convene a Ministers' meeting in May 1924. That meeting came off on the 19th May 1924, at which the Political Secretary explained the position that had been reached in the course of the discussions and Mr. Coupland's Note was then considered. After examining the practicability of certain suggestions, the question of the difficulties caused by frequent breaks of jurisdiction was considered, and the Political Secretary, Mr. Hindley, Mr. Hadow, a Member of the Railway Board, and Mr. Coupland thought that the practical difficulties of

divided jurisdiction were almost insuperable, and they were of opinion that, as the difficulties which would result from breaks of jurisdiction would be very great, a preferable solution would be that full jurisdiction should, as an experiment, be retroceded on selected lengths of line suitable for one or more railway police stations, subject to the Government of the State concerned making applicable an Act on the lines of the Indian Railways Act to the length in question.

The matter was then dealt with by the Standing Committee at their last meeting at Simla on the 20th August 1924, which decided to accept the recommendations of this Committee of the officers of the Government of India and the Ministers of Indian States, and it was proposed that when the experiment regarding the retrocession on selected lengths of line of full jurisdiction to a State was made, it should be tried for a period of two years, subject to reconsideration at the end of one year. The matter, I understand, is now receiving His Excellency's consideration. I trust that this brief statement will sufficiently answer the various enquiries which, in view of the importance of the subject, have been addressed to the Chancellor and will indicate the satisfactory progress made; and we may confidently anticipate His Excellency's careful and sympathetic consideration of the matter.

The Standing Committee met for the third time in January 1924 at Delhi and dealt with, or had (and have still) under consideration, the following subjects:—

- (1) Construction of Tramways.
- (2) Postal and telegraph transactions in Indian States.
- (3) Assessment of compensation for railway lands in Indian States.
- (4) Acquisition of non-residential property in British India by Ruling Princes and Chiefs.
- (5) Dealings between Indian States and Capitalists and Financial Agents.
- (6) Wireless Telegraphy and Telephony.

There is nothing calling for immediate attention at this moment, and I need not, therefore, take up the time of the Chamber in dealing in any detail with our work on that occasion.

The fourth and last meeting of the Committee was held at Simla in August 1924. As I was at the time attending the Assembly of the League of Nations in Geneva, I have obviously no first-hand knowledge of the work and other connected details which will be dealt with by His Highness the Maharajah of Patiala, who during my absence was acting as Chancellor, and who has kindly agreed to present the Reports of the Committee in regard to the various subjects dealt with on that occasion.

Before proceeding further I feel sure it would be in accordance with the sense of the Chamber that I should take this the first available opportunity of offering our felicitations to His Highness the Maharajah of Patiala for the able and painstaking manner in which he carried out his arduous duties while acting as Chancellor during my absence in Europe. May I digress for a moment to make a statement which is not strictly concerned with this review but which will save me having to rise and to speak when such summaries are presented? In according my general approval to the Summaries to be thus presented representing work done in Simla in August last during my absence, I should like to make it clear that in view of the very short time which I have had at my disposal for studying these papers and consequently my not having been able fully to master the various facts and details, I must reserve not only to my Government but also to myself personally the right to offer suggestions for any additions and alterations to the recommendations made, and to reconsider such matters on a fuller knowledge and study of the details when in due course these papers reach my State in accordance with the usual procedure following the presentation of such reports in the Chamber.

But to make this review complete, it would be as well to add that the following were amongst the subjects dealt with on that occasion:—

- (1) Employment of European British Subjects.
- (2) Tours and visits abroad of Ruling Princes and Chiefs.
- (3) Question of giving publicity to the proceedings of the Chamber.

- (4) Radio broadcasting.
- (5) Poppy cultivation and manufacture of opium in Indian States, regarding which I ought to have stated long ago that a Committee of Ministers was appointed some time ago, but which owing to diverse reasons could not meet till a few days past.
- (6) Horse-breeding in Indian States.
- (7) Acquisition of non-residential property in British India by Ruling Princes and Chiefs.
- (8) Amendment of the Resolution regarding Courts of Arbitration, with a view to fixing a time limit.
- (9) Railway Jurisdiction.
- (10) Compensation for Railway lands.
- (11) Postal and telegraph transactions.
- (12) Wireless telegraphy and telephony.
- (13) Boundary settlements in Indian States.

The Committee meetings have as usual been very long and continued till late hours in the evening and entailed a considerable amount of preparation in addition to the heavy responsible work which has to be tackled at the actual Committee meetings. Incidentally, I might bring to the notice of the Chamber—not in any controversial spirit, but with a view to submitting if I may say so—how wise was Your Highnesses' decision in reducing the quorum of the Committee to 3 in February 1923, for on at least 3 occasions there was just the bare quorum.

May I here refer to another important detail? Considering the number of days and hours spent it may appear as if the result was not commensurate with our labours, but I would beg the Chamber to bear in mind the exceptional difficulties which from the very nature of such work we have had to face. The task of revising political practice is by no means easy, and with all the care and attention and preparation beforehand given to the various matters dealt with, I for one am only too conscious of the fact that in the rush, certain important details of great interest to our Order are apt to be overlooked by us individually or even collectively. Our task is rendered all the

more difficult by receiving the summaries which we have to deal with at a Committee meeting at what can comparatively speaking be called very short notice, and it is to be earnestly hoped that all such summaries in regard to the various subjects which have already been earmarked for being dealt with by the Standing Committee, for the revision of political practice, may be prepared by the Political Department and circulated to the Chancellor and other members of the Standing Committee as urgently as possible, so that the questions can be gone into thoroughly with plenty of time ahead and the Princes may be enabled to attend the sessions well prepared. I do not think that we are making an unreasonable request or making too great a demand upon the time of the Political Secretary and his office. After all, the matters relating to the British Government are only sent to us after they have been referred to, and thoroughly examined by, all the Departments and officials concerned of the Government of India, including, I understand, their Law Officers. And it appears only right that all the summaries and available material should similarly be at the disposal of the Princes and States in good time and the rest expedited.

In other cases, the Princes have, on technical and other grounds, had to appoint Committees or Sub-Committees of Ministers and other responsible officers and technical experts of the States to go into the matter with the officers concerned of the British Government and to report to the Standing Committee. The progress in regard to such matters, though slow, has been steady.

A great deal of our time has, in the past, been taken up in having to deal not only once, but at times, one might almost say, over and over again, with summaries which have been returned to us for re-consideration as a result almost entirely of the fresh objections raised by, and the opinions and criticisms of, Local Governments and Administrations. I feel sure it will be the desire of this Chamber, including its illustrious President, that there should be greater expeditiousness in such matters and that—apart from the battles of the States, where they have the right on their side, being fought with greater tenacity by the officers of the Political Department—the Imperial Government, in the important matter of

Imperial relationship with the Princes and States, will exercise its prerogative and come to early and satisfactory and equitable decisions in regard to the questions on which the views of the Standing Committee and Local Governments are at divergence.

In fairness to the Princes on the Standing Committee, may I invite your attention to another point? I have heard it stated that with seven Princes on the Committee, we sometimes took up a longer time than was really necessary in discussing the various points involved and that at times such discussions were not always relevant or to the point. I fear I cannot deny that that has never been the case but I do assure Your Excellency and Your Highnesses that that is not the crying evil or the main, or direct source of our difficulties. Of course, a smaller Committee of say 3 or 4 is bound to get through its work quicker as, for instance, speaking of occasions when I was present, when the Committee met in Simla in September 1923 with only three of us present and when, as has been clear from what I have already stated, we got through a noteworthy amount of heavy and important, and yet extremely delicate, matters with remarkably satisfactory results and, comparatively speaking, in a remarkably short time. It is in some ways tempting to dilate on some of the other occasions which led to so little satisfactory results at the end of our Committee meetings and which contribute to delays and difficulties—not to add other troubles—far more than any action on the part of the Princes of the kind described above. But I will merely content myself here by stating that no blame can fairly be laid at the door of Your Highnesses' elected representatives on the Committee on that account. Some of these matters have already been brought by me to the notice of Your Excellency, either by means of Notes, or verbally on other occasions; and I need say no more here to-day.

Having only recently returned from Europe, and having had only four days in Bikaner, during which, as well as since my arrival here, I have been in constant communication with the Political Secretary—and I might add that some of the subjects are still being taken up by me—and on account of my having got out of touch with some details for three months during my absence, and due to our prolonged meetings in Delhi,

for the last two days, and having to prepare most of my work for the Chamber the night before, I would beg for the indulgence of Your Excellency and Your Highnesses for any imperfections, omissions and mistakes in the presentation of my report.

Coming now finally to the Summary itself relating to Tramways, there are only two important points to which I need invite your attention, the rest of the alterations in it being comparatively minor ones which were called for in the light of the recent Resolution of the Imperial Government regarding the construction of Railways in Indian States. The most important point that cropped up during the discussion of this Summary—a point which was never anticipated to arise out of the Summary—was in relation to clause 4 of the Revised Summary, discussion on which opened up a very big question, *viz.*, whether one State has the right, under any circumstances, to debar another from building a tramway of its own within its own territories for opening out its country and further developing its internal resources. For instance, State “A” wants to build a tramway from one of its outlying districts to connect it with its Capital. Such a tramway might carry away a certain amount of traffic at present conveyed outside the border of that State by an existing Railway or a tramway belonging to a neighbouring State “B”. The question was “Can this neighbouring State “B” assert any right to stop State “A” from constructing its own tramway?” The line which the majority of the Princes on the Standing Committee took was that since every State had a right to build tramway lines within its own territory, no other State could claim to interfere with the Sovereignty of the State concerned by obstructing the construction of such a tramway or by claiming compensation for loss of traffic which it may have been hitherto carrying, it, of course, being assumed that such railway or tramway claiming vested interests is already outside the territory of the State constructing the new tramway. This in its turn opened up a still wider question of vested interests. I pointed out that all such discussions were, in the case of tramways at least, purely academic inasmuch as whatever concessions and terms we may have arrived at in regard to railways, the situation about the tramways was not of a nature now to lead to a complicated

system whereby also the direct rights of a State and its Sovereignty would be infringed by curtailing any of its rights or hampering its powers of making tramways. I further pointed out that it was impossible to think that a tramway could compete with a railway. Ultimately, in order to make the position quite clear, so that no question of any such vested rights as are referred to above might arise, and after discussing on another day several alternatives, the following clause 5 of the revised Summary which is before Your Highnesses, was inserted. It runs as follows:—

“ Since it is the Sovereign right of every State to construct tramways within its own territory to open up its country and to develop its internal resources, etc., no question of vested rights or claims for compensation for an existing tramway or railway outside the territory of the State can, in the absence of any specific agreement, arise or be admissible ”.

I am sure Your Highnesses will agree that the clause, in view of the point raised, was necessary and equitable and that it adequately safeguards the Sovereign rights of the State concerned.

The other point that I wish to bring to Your Highnesses' notice is the one relating to the method of awarding compensation to the owner of an existing tramway where a railway, as referred to in clause 2, is constructed. In the Summary prepared by the Political Department it was stated that “the question of the necessity for the payment of compensation to the owner of the tramway and of the method of payment as well as of the amount, if any, to be paid will be decided by the Government of India in accordance with the principles governing the payment of compensation to railways in British India ”.

The Summary as revised by the Committee provides that the “method of payment will be settled by mutual agreement between the Government of India and the State, or in case of a difference by arbitration. In the event of arbitration each party shall appoint one arbitrator. Should the Arbitrators be unable to agree they shall appoint an Umpire whose decision shall be final ”.

Your Highnesses will, I am confident, see that the procedure is quite equitable and just and is based on the principle of reciprocity.

at the following conclusions, that the consent of the Government of India should be required for employment in the Indian States in the following cases only:—

- (a) Europeans and Americans on a salary exceeding Rs. 900 a month,

NOTE.—The Government of India should be informed as soon as possible of the engagement of Europeans and Americans below this salary limit.

- (b) retired members of the Indian Civil Service or of the Political Department of the Government of India,
- (c) retired British officers of the Army employed by States in a military capacity, and
- (d) aliens in any capacity.

Your Highnesses will observe that we have recommended a rise from Rs. 400 to Rs. 900 in the salary limit as suggested by the Committee. We have also split up the term European into British, American and alien. Our second recommendation is that in case of emergency there is no objection to provisional appointments being made by Ruling Princes and Chiefs subject to the subsequent consent of the Government of India which will be asked for as soon as possible.

Our last recommendation is that the consent of the Government of India should not be required in the case of the temporary engagement of professional people, such as barristers, doctors, nurses, etc., on payment of the usual fees.

With these remarks I submit the report of the Standing Committee for the general approval and acceptance of the Chamber.

His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur: I beg to second His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala's motion.

His Excellency the Viceroy: May I take it that the report is adopted? All that I can say at the present moment is that in the ordinary course the Government of India will give its most careful consideration to the report.

Agendum No. 13.

Resolution by His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior deprecating the execution of agreement by a Ruler before, or a short time after, accession, or his coming of age investiture with ruling powers.

His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior; Your Excellency: The Re-

solution of the Government of India, which I propose should be amended, provides generally what shall not be done during a minority administration. The recognition expressed in the 2nd paragraph of the Resolution, viz., that the Government of India are the trustees and custodians of the rights, interests and traditions of the States during minority administration, the allusion in the same paragraph to their general policy which opens by deprecating pressure on Darbars, and more particularly, paragraph 5 of the principles to be observed during a minority administration, which are embodied in the Resolution are all evidence of the Government of India's very best intentions as regards the States as well as of the nature of matters in respect of which that Government have declared their resolve to allow things to go on as they have been. All this is as it should be, and I beg to submit that it would be in keeping with the spirit of the policy underlying the Resolution if it be explicitly laid down that the scrupulous abstention, enjoined by Government upon themselves and their Officers to be observed during the minority of a Ruler extends also, so far, at any rate, as their own initiative is concerned, to the point of time when the Ruler, on attaining his majority, is about to be invested with powers and indeed to a subsequent period.

In the past there have actually been cases in which a young Ruler, immediately after his coming of age, was called upon to sign important documents and to come to decisions vitally affecting his privileges and prerogatives and the interests of his State. Obviously, such a Ruler cannot, in the circumstances, resist the call made upon him, nor can he be expected to be in a position to appreciate the consequences, either to himself or to his State in future, resulting from such acts. In such a position there is, I submit, a very great danger, as it imports the possibility of a Ruler being irrevocably committed, sometimes against his better judgment, and, more often than not, against the interests of his State and subjects.

Against such a danger it is, I maintain, the clear duty of this Chamber to guard, for the future, every young Ruler: and I am firmly persuaded that it is the desire of the Government of India, though it does not find specific expression in the Resolution we are discussing, that all young Rulers of States,

when at the threshold of their careers, should be so protected.

I trust, therefore, that the amendment which I am moving will be adopted in the Chamber and meet with the approval of Your Excellency.

In conclusion, I trust that my suggestion will be regarded as entirely reasonable, for it is intended to safeguard both the Government and the States.

I beg leave to move:—

“That this Chamber resolves that His Excellency the Viceroy be requested that the Resolution of the Government of India in the Foreign and Political Department, No. 1494-I.A., dated Simla, the 27th August, 1917, relating to the administration of an Indian State during a minority, should be so amended as to provide:—

- (a) that no Ruler should be expected to decide, one way or the other, in regard to important matters, on the assumption of powers, and
- (b) that no Ruler should, ordinarily until seven years after the assumption of powers, be called upon to commit himself irrevocably in regard to any important measures taken during his Minority.”

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner: I beg to second the resolution. In view of the fact that the point involved is clear and in view of His Highness the Maharaja Scindia's remarks, I do not think I need take up the time of the Chamber by saying anything further.

The Chief of Sangli: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses, I rise to offer my support to the Resolution so ably moved by His Highness the Maharaja Saheb of Gwalior and seconded by His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner about the amendment of the Resolution of the Government of India in the Foreign and Political Department, No. 1494-I. A., dated Simla, the 27th August, 1917, relating to the administration of an Indian State during a minority.

A Resolution coming from His Highness of Gwalior does not stand in need of any support from me. We are all aware that a proposition which proceeds

from His Highness has the unique advantage of his long administrative experience and a rare diplomatic insight. His Highness has special opportunities of close and direct association with Government and their highest Officers. There can thus be no better guarantee about the wisdom of a Resolution than that it should be sponsored by a Prince of His Highness' high standing, great reputation and far-sighted statesmanship.

In view of the arguments already urged by Their Highnesses of Gwalior and Bikaner, there remains little to be said by me. As observed by His Highness of Gwalior the Government of India have the very best of intentions, as regards the States and have declared their resolve in respect of certain important matters to allow things during minority administration to go on as they have been. I am sure I am voicing a sentiment common to all the Ruling Princes and Chiefs of India when I say that they are all very grateful to Government for their policy of protecting the rights, interests and traditions of the States during minority administration.

The instances in which young Rulers have on immediately attaining majority had to sign important documents are evidently not in keeping with the underlying policy and principles of the Resolution which is sought to be amended, so as to exclude any future possibilities of such occurrence. If Government is pleased to give their kind consideration to this Resolution, it will not only prevent the recurrence of such instances and thus contribute to the further growth of mutual confidence between Government and the States but it will also preserve untarnished the splendid name and reputation of British diplomacy for honesty and fairness. I, therefore, trust that His Excellency with his unsurpassed love of justice and reputation for sympathy will be pleased to give effect to this Resolution.

His Highness the Maharaja of Porbandar: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses, Already a lot has been said and ably said on this subject by Their Highnesses who have preceded me, and therefore there does not remain much to be said by me. The subject however, is so inherently important and affects the whole of our Order that I crave Your Highnesses' indulgence for a

few moments to accord my humble but firm support to His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior's resolution.

It is, I believe, an established fact of English law that a contract entered into by a minor is not binding on him even if he confirms it after attaining majority. The law no doubt aims at guarding the interests of a minor in such a way that no one could take advantage of his extreme youth and inveigle him into entering into a contract which will be prejudicial to his interests in after life. It does not require a great stretch of imagination on the part of Your Highnesses to see how much more important it is to guard against a minor Ruler being peacefully persuaded into signing something which may be harmful and derogatory not only to himself but to his successors and the State. It must then necessarily mean the loss of *izzat* of the new Ruler, and to my mind, loss of prestige of any individual Member of our Chamber is a loss of prestige to the whole of our Order. Therefore, I most earnestly and fervently request Your Highnesses to support His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior's resolution strongly and unanimously.

The Nawab of Loharu: Might I humbly propose that a Committee be formed to consider the question more fully before we come to a decision on the subject, because it may be necessary for a Ruler immediately on assuming his powers to come to an engagement either with the British Government or any other State, and if this resolution is passed and accepted by Government it may stand in the way of that Ruler?

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar: If His Highness will read the resolution, it lays down that a Prince should not be called upon to do certain things but that he is entirely at liberty to do them if he himself wishes.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner: And there is also the word 'irrevocably'.

The Nawab of Loharu: Thank you.

His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior: I think my friend, the Nawab Sahib, has no knowledge of the facts concerning this matter, if I may be allowed to say so. On the contrary, what many of us have stated or urged is based upon experience of actual cases. We are humbly asking Government to

enforce a rule which will absolutely safeguard States as well as the Government who are the custodians during the minority of a Ruler, of the rights of his State.

His Excellency the Viceroy: I gather the result is that the resolution is supported unanimously, and, if I may say so, the question raised by His Highness the Maharaja Scindia supported by His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner is one of greatest interest. And I have listened with attention to the speeches of the Chief of Sangli and His Highness the Maharaja of Porbandar. I am greatly impressed by the importance of the subject and by the observations that have been made; but all I can say at the moment is that I shall certainly give it the most careful consideration as indeed it merits.

Agendum No. 14.

Resolution by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala, regarding the great increase in the leave and pension contributions now demanded by the Government of India for the services of officers lent to the States.

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala: Your Excellency and Your Highnesses, I rise to move the following resolution:—

"Inasmuch as the Government of India revised rates of leave and pension contributions, payable by States on account of Officers on Foreign Service under Fundamental Rules, tend to discourage the loan of Government Officers to Indian States by throwing on them an excessive and an unnecessary burden, this House resolves that, as an equitable solution of the problem, His Excellency the Viceroy may be requested to amend the rules by levying—

(1) contribution for pension only on British Indian pay and leaving the Indian States to pay the leave allowances while the Officer is in Foreign Service, and

(2) on reversion of that Officer to Government Service the State may be required to pay—

(a) a proportionate share of the leave allowances if any, actually paid by the Government of India in respect of the leave, with extra leave allowance earned by him in Foreign Service,

and (b) proportionate higher contribution for pension if the officer retires within three years of his reversion.

I crave the indulgence of Your Excellency and Your Highnesses for bringing before the House a resolution which has an important bearing on the advantage which the Indian States have hitherto derived from the loan by the Government of India of experienced officers to help the Indian States in their administration

Up till lately the regulations of the Civil Service which governed the cases of the loan of officers of British Indian Service to Indian States provided certain facilities but the revised rules, now called Fundamental Rules, make it almost prohibitive for the Indian States to avail themselves of the advantage vouched to them under the old rules.

(1) The main points of the change are that, while under the old rules the excess in pay over the rate in Government service that could be offered to a lent officer was more or less 25 per cent of the pay, there is no binding limit now under the Fundamental Rules.

(2) That while under the old Rules the contribution towards the leave and pension was 25 per cent. and 31 per cent. of *pay in British Services* respectively of the Civil and Military Officers, under the Fundamental Rules this rate has been raised to 40 per cent. of *pay in Foreign Service*. These are, Your Excellency and Your Highnesses, two very important differences in rates which, as I have said before, are tantamount to completely discourage the Indian States administrations to avail themselves of the benefit of more experienced officers of the British Indian Service for help in improving the State Administrations.

As far as I have been able to make out, I understand that the rates fixed under the Fundamental Rules are said to have been based on actuarial data. Without entering into any discussion over the figures which form the basis of this change the proposition appears to my mind to be a perfectly simple one. An Officer of the Government of India is entitled to pension on the pay he enjoys in British Indian Service. His deputation to an Indian State can only affect the rate of pension if, according to the existing rules, he were to retire on reversion within the period which is counted

to give the average for his rate of pension.

As regards leave a lent Officer would, of course, be entitled to have the benefit of his Foreign Service rate of pay for the period he serves in a State. It will thus be seen that there will be numerous cases in which a Foreign service pay will not in the least affect the rate of pension of an officer who may have during his career been lent to a State for a certain number of years. While as regards leave it is hardly necessary to tax the borrowing States with all possible contingencies whether the officer on deputation avails of them or not.

The resolution as submitted by me, I hope will cover the ground fully and while undertaking all liability on account of leave and pension allowances, it contemplates saving the States from paying unnecessarily a higher rate of contribution. I have ventured to suggest that the privilege leave earned by the lent officer should be fully paid for by the State either during the period of deputation by allowing the officer to have the benefit of the leave, or by contributing the same to the British Indian Exchequer.

As regards furlough, the proportionate share of the period on the rate of Foreign Service pay could be contributed by the State whenever such an officer availed himself of this leave. It would only be a matter of account which could be referred to the State by the Government of India, Finance Department. The proposals as put forward are intended to safeguard the Government of India against all possible risks of loss in pension and leave allowances. I cannot believe that it can be the intention of the new rules to result in the recovery of much higher amounts than the Government of India will ever be called upon actually to pay by way of pensions or leave allowances.

It is hardly necessary for me to state here the advantages which the Indian States have hitherto derived from the loan of British Indian Officers; and we cannot be too grateful to the Government of India for the facilities afforded in the past in this behalf. It is only in view of the fact that the new rules introduce embarrassments which are likely to deprive the States of this benefit in the future that I submit this Resolution for Your Excellency's and Your Highnesses' consideration. It is an admitted fact that the

possibilities of wide experience in administrative affairs, especially in technical branches of Government, are very limited in Indian States and it is only when the Government of India open their avenues for assistance to the Indian States administrations, that the aspirations of Darbars of States can see their realisation by drawing on the Government of India's stock. As friends and allies of the British Government, the Indian Princes look to the Government of India for help in this matter and it will not be too much to expect that, with their vast resources, the Government of India would continue to furnish every possible facility to the Indian States for raising the efficiency of their administrations with borrowed officers whenever and wherever it may be necessary.

His Highness the Maharaja of Rewa: I beg to second the resolution.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar: I rise to support the resolution moved by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala. There is not very much for me to say because His Highness has already covered most of the ground. But I remember that Lord Curzon during his Viceroyalty once said in a speech which he delivered in India that, while he was averse to Government servants being appointed in Indian States to fill posts that might be occupied by local men, yet when a State itself required the services of a Government officer, it was a great pleasure to him to pay personal attention to the subject and to give the best officer that was available for the duties required in that State in order to assist it in technical and other branches of the administration so as to bring it to a higher standard of efficiency. I feel sure that that would be and is the policy of Your Excellency's Government also, and that it is your wish that the Indian States when they desire the assistance of the Government of India and their officers—or of the Provincial Governments—that such officers when they are available may be placed at the disposal of the Indian States for certain periods on loan in order to assist them in the task of improving their administrations. There are certain branches of work in which the Indian States cannot compete with the resources and powers of the Imperial Government, for in British India you have technical colleges and schools, where education is given, officers are trained. It is mostly in

technical and professional matters that we look to Your Excellency's Government to assist us when we want officers to come and assist us in our administration. I feel sure that it is the wish of the Imperial Government that where a State desires the assistance of an officer in order to help it in bringing the administration of a particular department to a higher standard of efficiency, that such officer should be available and when he is available, that his services should be placed at the disposal of the Indian State. If that be so, and I believe it is so, then the recently revised pension and leave contribution rules have raised the percentage of contributions to such a high figure that it sometimes makes it very difficult, if not impossible, for the States to invite such officers to come. I will give an instance from my own State. When we obtained the loan of one officer his salary was Rs. 1,700 but the pension and leave contributions of the State amounted to Rs. 650. Besides another officer whose services we took on loan quite recently we agreed to pay Rs. 2,000 but also we have to pay pension contribution for him amounting to about Rs. 800. For such a high scale of contribution, we could easily appoint a separate officer for some of the departments in our States. I am not aware, and I confess my ignorance, as to the basis on which these figures have been worked out, how far they cover the rightful charges which the Imperial Government naturally must expect to make against the State for the loan of the services of their officers. But it does seem that the figures that are fixed at present are high, and as the Resolution aims at recommending to Your Excellency and your Government the kind consideration of this subject in order that this difficulty which exists at present with regard to the loan of Government servants to the Indian States may be removed, I would strongly support and commend for Your Excellency's favourable consideration.

The Chief of Sangli: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses, I beg to support the Resolution so ably moved by His Highness the Maharaja Sahab of Patiala and seconded by His Highness of Alwar regarding the great increase in the leave and pension contributions now demanded by the Government of India for the services of Officers lent to the States. The best model that the Indian Rulers can

place before themselves as regards administrative efficiency is that which obtains in British India. And whenever Rulers have desired to profit by the expert training which British Indian Officers possess, Government has always helped them by lending their Officers, as must be acknowledged with all gratitude. In these days especially when administrative methods are undergoing a rapid reform all around, the States are all the more in need of the Officers which Government can lend. As the efficiency of administration in the States is no doubt a matter of equal concern and interest to Government and to ourselves, it is to be hoped that they will kindly encourage our efforts to borrow their Officers by making it as easy as possible. I, therefore, trust that Government will, with their usual generosity, be pleased to accord their very kind and sympathetic consideration to this Resolution.

His Excellency the Viceroy: I take it that it is Your Highnesses' wish that this Resolution should be adopted. I am very much impressed by the arguments which have been used, but there are obvious considerations which the Government of India must take into account before it pronounces a judgment upon this question. I may add that, my Government naturally desires to assist the States to employ officers who have had special experience and training. We are of course interested, as you are interested, in the efficient administration of the States, and if the Government of India can help by the loan of its officers, and your Highnesses desire such assistance, my Government will be found ready to help. What now requires examination is to consider carefully whether the changes that have been made are necessary and whether they are just—I know they are based upon careful calculations. The observations your Highnesses have made will be carefully considered before a conclusion is reached.

Agendum No. 12.

Resolution by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar regarding the terminology and phraseology used by Government Departments and officials in reference to and in communications with Indian States.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar: The Resolution that stands in my name and which I am to move is one that deals with a subject no doubt of

importance but it is also one of considerable delicacy for 'phraseology' and 'terminology' as applicable in the present instance relate to the definition of the relative positions of the Imperial Government and the Indian States. It is easily comprehensible how difficult and delicate the subject must be when we are dealing with the definitions in regard to a system which exists in India, and the parallel of which I believe, does not exist anywhere else in the world. When dealing with this question one is not able to seek much assistance from legal books, from codes defining administrations in other parts of the country or in other parts of the world, or even from dictionaries which sometimes fail to disclose the meanings of terms that have been used in this country and that can not be translated in ordinary language. Though the subject deals with a vast problem, and is also one of complications nevertheless it is one which I believe, if it is viewed from the broad standpoint, will be quite easy of solution and will remove from the minds of many misunderstandings and difficulties where these have been created—I believe in most instances quite unconsciously and quite unintentionally. When we deal with a question that concerns some 633 States, which includes States differing vastly in size, population, revenue, traditions, and varying in the manner in which they have come into alliance with the British Government, the task is indeed one that requires very careful consideration. In order to see how various terms have come into use at various times, due to quite natural but different circumstances, we must digress for a few brief moments into history. The connection of the Indian States with the East Indian Company—and most of these connections were formed then—can be divided under three distinct heads. *First*, when the Company was still in its infancy and entered into engagements and alliances with States,—treating them as independent sovereigns. *Second*, when the Company's power and influence increased in the country and it was able to persuade the Ruling Princes in India to part with their sovereign rights of making alliances with other States and of making war or peace with one another. In return, the Company undertook the responsibility of giving ready aid to the States against external foes or against interstatal strife, and undertook not to interfere with the sovereign rights of the States

in matters of internal independence. *Third*, when the Company was able to establish its position and under the short-sighted policy of aggrandisement, which reached its climax during the regime of Lord Dalhousie, was able to embark on the hazardous experiment of annexing some of the States on the pretext either of misrule or under the divine right of doing justice. These events were closely followed by the Mutiny of 1857, and the Indian States with a few minor exceptions still stood by their pledges and supported the cause of the Company. At this stage the East Indian Company's rule came to an end, and from 1858 started the happy period when Her late Majesty of revered memory, Queen Victoria, by Royal proclamation took over the administration of India, and with it the responsibility of adhering to treaties and engagements entered into by the East Indian Company with all the Indian States. The question now arises, what is this position of the States which is based on these treaties? In order to obtain a correct idea, we have to study these documents, but a very cursory examination of them in the first instance will show, as Your Excellency mentioned in your speech yesterday, that there is a considerable divergence in their conditions. Some of these documents are Treaties, some called alliances, others 'engagements,' or 'agreements.' Then there are sanads, and grants. This one-third includes States as large and as important as Hyderabad and Kashmir with areas of over 82,000 and 80,000 sq. miles, which are larger than the areas of some of the kingdoms in the West. On the other hand it includes Chiefs and Thakurs, the largest number of whom are in Central India and in the Bombay Presidency where there are intermediary Chiefs, guaranteed Chiefs, guaranteed Thakurs and guaranteed Bhoomias or land proprietors. When we see this immense divergence existing between the conditions of the States in India and begin to take up the question of the use of correct terminology which will not give offence to any one, it is a task which one may well shudder at. It can only be in a broad and generous spirit that this subject can be taken up and set at rest. I do not mean that by correcting or altering definitions we desire in some subterranean way to increase the power or privileges of our positions. My idea in suggesting this problem is that where misunderstandings arise, perhaps quite

unconsciously due to the use of certain words, consideration might be given by the Imperial Government and such words may be eliminated from use and others more suitable substituted for them. We see for instance in referring to Indian States; some people call them 'independent States', others 'feudatory States', 'vassal States', 'treaty States', 'guaranteed States', 'Native States', 'sovereign States'. I do not mean to go into details of all the terms here. I will as illustrations merely quote one or two. The States are certainly not independent in such external rights as making war or peace but then they are also neither feudatory nor vassal States, both of which terms imply subjection and the system by which the States came to be connected with the East India Company was not one of feudalism. Some States no doubt pay tribute, but this condition can only be applied to those who pay a tribute, and not to all. The term "treaty States" or 'guaranteed States', if taken in the broad sense, can apply to certain States also but not to all. Thus it will be seen how differently certain terms have come to be applied, not only in the treaties but in modern expressions given to them in public, or sometimes even in official documents. It is not for me to give a list of all such terms that may be found objectionable or otherwise, for that is the work that my Resolution proposes to undertake. But my object is, that if misunderstandings can be removed by examining this question and removing some of the doubts that exist, it will be a result worthy of achievement. I am glad to be able to vouch for the fact that recently the Imperial Government have themselves paid considerable attention to the subject, and the terminology and phraseology sometimes loosely used even by high personages in public speeches or in referring to States in official documents, have been greatly improved, for which we thank the Government. The examination of this question now in detail as suggested, will I believe finally place it on a pedestal from which no such difficulties will be likely to emanate. And then I ask myself, what will be the result of it all? If the subject is intricate and delicate, if it is difficult, what will be the sum total and the result of now examining it and correcting the errors where they exist? I believe that by a generous and liberal conception such an understanding can be arrived at for the future,

which cannot impair the position of either side, will certainly not attempt to encroach on the established position of both parties, but can, and will, greatly strengthen the happy link that binds the States to the British Empire and the Crown. With these words, Your Excellency, I move my Resolution, which runs as follows:—

“ The Narendra Mandal resolves that the Standing Committee should examine the numerous terms used in respect to Princes and their States in their relation with the Imperial Government and *vice versa* and in cases where such phraseology is found to be objectionable, that it should recommend suitable substitutes ”.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; It is with great pleasure that I rise to second His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar's Resolution, for the matter has been one with which it has been my good fortune as Chancellor to deal often on the representation of Your Highnesses for the past 8 years; and it must frankly be admitted that it is a matter which has at times caused us anxiety and at the same time a certain amount of annoyance. But there is a wider aspect in some of the loose phraseology which has come to be used in the past, in that it is calculated to do harm in various ways and is apt to affect the rights and dignity as well as the correct position and status of the Princes and States, and there is the further danger of these terms getting stereotyped and being followed in official language and papers which are apt to give colour to things especially to the uninitiated and the public of British India and of the world outside; it is apt to give colour to, and impressions of, things which are opposed to constitutional facts and history which is neither in our interest nor in that of the Imperial Government. I do not propose on this occasion to deal at length with the question by entering into details regarding the various terms which might require revision or consideration; that is a matter which, if, as I hope, this Committee is appointed, can be dealt with there.

But there are two or three aspects of this question and one or two illustrations of the general phraseology used in official correspondence which I would now bring forward, as I think some of

my remarks will help to clear away any misunderstanding or misrepresentation in ignorant quarters of the intentions and motives which have guided His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar in bringing this matter forward to-day, and several of us, in fact I should say all of us, in giving support to it; and if I cite one or two instances, it is in the belief that they are such as could immediately be put right, which will cause satisfaction to the States and which will not lead to any difficulties or any other complications.

The Princes of India, who are born and brought up in a land where great importance is attached to the distinctions made in phraseology and terminology, should not be misunderstood and blamed by the general public or any of our official friends if they attach what may appear to be excessive importance to such matters, for even British officials representing a democratic country and a democratic people have, through intercourse and official association, come to attach no less importance to such phraseology and terms.

The instances which I will deal with first are such as those where circulars are sent to the various political Officers where they talk of the States being

‘ under the jurisdiction ’

or

‘ under the political control ’

or ‘ charge ’ or ‘ supervision ’

‘ of political officers ’,

or

‘ of the Local or Imperial Government ’.

while in other cases countries—tracts of countries exclusively or almost exclusively Indian States territories—have in official language, without there being any ulterior motive, come to be termed as ‘ Agencies ’ and so on. In Rajputana, except for a tract known as Ajmer Merwara, there are 18 States and the country has always been known as Rajputana. But if you look up maps and official references, it is known as ‘ the Rajputana Agency ’.

To Your Excellency's Viceroyalty we are grateful for the error not having been repeated in regard to the recent transfer of the Punjab States which is not called ‘ the Punjab States Agency ’ and I hope that as this matter does not permit of any difficulties, as I have said,

it may receive immediate and favourable consideration.

It only remains for me to add in this connection to-day that as lately as on the 3rd October 1924, in the Foreign and Political Department Notification No. 471-I, published in the *Gazette of India, Extraordinary*, of the 10th October 1924, announcing another welcome appointment of an Agent to the Governor General in the States of Western India, terms such as 'political control' and 'political charge' are used, and what is more, in spite of the work and results of the past 8 years, the Rulers of Baroda, Junagadh, Nawanagar and other Princes in Kathiawar have been referred to as Chiefs in another notification No. 484-I, published in the *Gazette of India* of the same date. This is an illustration which I have ventured to refer to to-day not by way of complaint but to point out how strong has been the habit in the past and how difficult it is to resort to correct phraseology unless special attention is paid not only by the officers of the Political Department who daily come in touch with us but also by the other Departments of the Imperial Government, for obviously these were the notifications which were drawn up by the local authorities in the places where the States happen to be situated.

I will conclude my speech on the subject by quoting what I have said in a Note which I submitted to Lord Hardinge at his request in 1915. I wrote then:—

"I have myself heard it suggested by some officials that some of the Ruling Princes have got an inordinate idea of their position and dignity; that some of them imagine themselves as the equals of the King-Emperor Himself! No calumny could be more unfounded, no libel more gross, and no imputation more unfair or more calculated to evoke our righteous indignation, than that implied by such irresponsible observations. The King-Emperor stands pre-eminent on a pedestal at once sacred, exalted and unapproachable, and no one in his senses can even pretend to anything even approximately verging upon equality with the Sovereign of the Empire—the Fountain-Head of all honour—in Whose service we all are and have always been ready to shed the last drop of our blood."

The Chief of Sangli: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses, I stand to

support the Resolution regarding the terminology and phraseology used by Government Departments and Officials in reference to and in communications with Indian States so ably and eloquently moved and seconded by Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Alwar and Bikaner. I shall confine my remarks to that part of the terminology only which attracts attention daily on my side of the country. Amongst the Ruling Princes and Chiefs there are several who pass under the title of Chiefs, Thakurs, Raj Saheb, Sar Desai, etc.

It is unnecessary to enter into the question of the etymology of these terms. Suffice it to say that they are in use now for Rulers about whose position as Ruling Princes and Chiefs there is no longer any question. Among these the term "Chief" without a vernacular equivalent has fallen to the lot of most of those whose States are situated in the Deccan. These are Rulers who possess independent powers, who came into direct contact with the British Government at its advent and with whom the Government entered into direct treaties. In fact as regards essentials they do not differ from those who are honoured with the style and title of Nawab, Raja or Maharaja. It is, therefore, very difficult to understand why any distinction should now remain between the Rulers in the Deccan and those elsewhere in this respect and the former continue to be styled merely Chiefs and not Rajas. The word "Chief" is synonymous with the "Head of Department" or "highest Officials", and with the Indian Princes it has a depreciatory odour, as it is not understood to convey the full significance of the position and powers of a Ruler. Government have been very kind and generous towards Princes. They look upon them as their colleagues and partners. In many cases they have removed the defects in the full sovereignty of Rulers and have thus advanced their position. It would not, therefore, be too much to ask for a change which is really nominal in every sense, when Government have with spontaneous liberality sanctioned many changes and departures of a material character in the position and status of several Rulers. It would thus seem that the term "Chief" should, whenever it is in exclusive use, be at once abandoned in favour of a more suitable one, such as

"Maharaja" or "Raja" according to the position and dignity of the State concerned. The word Raja does not really mean anything more than what the English word "Ruler" conveys. The adoption of this term would not as such confer any new rights, privileges or status. It would only bring into vogue a vernacular term in lieu of the misunderstood word "Chief".

With these remarks I support His Highness of Alwar's Resolution.

His Excellency the Viceroy: I take it that it is Your Highnesses' decision that this question should be referred to the Standing Committee which should make the examination and also recommend suitable substitutes where the phraseology is found to be objectionable. If it can be pointed out that the phraseology is objectionable, obviously the best thing to do is to change it and to adopt some substitute. (Hear, hear.) But it must not be assumed that, because I say that I agree with the proposal, it is going to be an easy matter. Changes cannot be made without very careful examination. If it is established that objectionable terms are in use, the Government of India will go into the question of their discontinuance. If obvious errors have been made in some cases, as has been suggested, steps will be taken to remedy them. May I also be permitted to say that even when the Standing Committee of Narendra Mandal has sat and considered the various points and has made its recommendations and even if subsequently these recommendations are endorsed by the Chamber and adopted by the Government of India, yet according to my experience of human limitations we cannot even then expect that perfection will have been reached and all the errors remedied.

Agendum No. 16.

Resolution by His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur regarding the appointment of a committee to discuss the question of riparian rights.

His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses, I have pleasure in moving the following resolution which I consider to be of vital importance in the interests of the Indian States and will, I believe, at the same time facilitate decisions that come up in the future before the Government of India. To this printed resolution I would also like to add the

name of my great friend, His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner. The object of my moving this Resolution is that in the past many difficulties have arisen due to no definite principles having been clearly laid down or understood by the States within which they would consider themselves free to utilise such waters as come into their States. Many a time problems have arisen where waters go from one State to another, or come from one State, pass through another, and then go into a third State; and in such cases decisions in the past have sometimes been given which are at variance with one another. It would, therefore, I believe, be in the interests of the States if this question was threshed out and final solutions arrived at so that each State would then know what waters it could utilise without the danger of entering into any irritating controversy. The Committee which I propose should be appointed to go into this question, must naturally seek assistance of the Political Secretary and the Irrigation expert officers of the Government of India, whose services, we hope, Your Excellency will be good enough to place at the disposal of the Committee for advice and opinion. Without such assistance, we will not be able to make any headway and in the same way it will be necessary for the Committee to obtain the assistance of the Ministers from various States in order to advise them on this subject. But this is a matter which the Committee will see for itself and it will be for the Committee of the Princes to report eventually the results of their labours to the Chamber for consideration. With this brief preface I move that the Chamber may pass the resolution I have put forward.

"As no definite principles exist applicable to Indian States with regard to riparian rights and various decisions have sometimes established different principles, which lead to difficulties in disputes between the States, the Narendra Mandal resolves that the following Committee be appointed to go into the whole question of riparian rights and to report ultimately to the Chamber:—

1. His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner.
2. His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar.
3. His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanagar.
4. His Highness the Maharaja of Panna.

5. His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.
6. His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur."

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar: When I rise to second this Resolution, it may naturally be assumed that I support it. But before expressing those words I should like to congratulate His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur on having for once and I hope in future for many times set the precedent of rising on his legs to speak and to propose an important Resolution. (Hear, hear.) I congratulate His Highness also on the excellent English with which he has prefaced his Resolution. At the same time I do realise that His Highness has let loose a real hornet's nest in the midst of the Chamber, for, I believe, that there is no question in which the States are more interested and in which the States more jealously want to safeguard their own interests and their own rights than that which is defined under the name of 'riparian rights'. Of course, it is a problem that affects the prosperity of the people and of the State Exchequer, and in countries which do not suffer from a plethora of rainfall—I am not referring to this particular year but to ordinary normal years—naturally water is a subject that cannot be disregarded. But in the past, although I do not assert that no definite principles of riparian rights exist, I never had the opportunity of knowing the existence of any legal terms for defining such questions. I do know of this however from concrete facts and instances that decisions have been come to in the past which, when put together to see whether they harmonize, have expressed different principles and certainly different results. It is, therefore, I understand His Highness' intention who has moved this Resolution that the question should be discussed by a Committee in order to be able to arrive at certain conclusions which will then be placed before the Chamber. At the very inception, it is obvious that no Committee of Princes can go through this subject and thresh out results on a legal and definite basis without asking for the assistance of the officers of the Imperial Government. Therefore His Highness has rightly said that he hopes that Your Excellency will be good enough to place at the disposal of the Committee the assistance and advice of the Political Secretary as well as of some officers of the Irrigation Department who will be able to

assist it technically. If, at a later stage, the services of any legal officer is required, also the Committee will no doubt ask Your Excellency to assist again. I have no more to add beyond this that the present is a mere proposal which may take a considerable time before it is in its final stage ready for presentation. Nevertheless this is a subject which requires very careful consideration and final working out on some definite principles. I, therefore, cordially support the resolution moved by His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur.

His Excellency the Viceroy: The Resolution which has been proposed by His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur involves the appointment of a Committee of Your Highnesses' Chamber. I understand that that Committee is to consist of His Highness of Bikaner, His Highness of Alwar, His Highness of Nawanganar, His Highness of Panna, His Highness of Patiala and His Highness of Dholpur. I gather from Your Highnesses that the opinion of this Chamber is that this question should be referred to that Committee. The experience of all the Chambers shows—and it does not seem to be different in this Chamber from any other Chamber of the world—that a collective body of men is generally pleased to refer difficult questions to a small body of selected experts. Let me assure you that all the assistance which we can give will be willingly placed at the disposal of the Committee. This Committee will no doubt report to Your Highnesses' Chamber before its recommendations are formally placed before the Government of India as the recommendations of the Narendra Mandal. I may utter one word of warning as one who has had some experience of questions of riparian rights. It is an extremely difficult subject. You will find it very complicated if you attempt to lay down any code or anything of that character. Nevertheless it is possible to arrive at certain leading principles and that, I assume, is what your Committee desires. When you have got the leading principles laid down, then, of course, a great many matters settle themselves.

I understand that this resolution really concludes the business of Your Highnesses' Chamber for to-day.

The Chamber of Princes then adjourned till Wednesday, the 19th November, at 11 A.M.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRD DAY.

November 19th, 1924.

The following Ruling Princes and Chiefs were present :—

Kashmir.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir.

Madras (Madras States).

The Nawab of Banganapalle.

Bombay (including States of Western India).

The Pant Sachiv of Bhor.

His Highness the Maharaja of Dhurangadhra.

The Raja of Jawahar.

The Thakur of Kadana.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur.

The Thakur Sahib of Limbdi.

The Thakur Sahib of Palitana.

His Highness the Maharaja of Porbandar.

The Chief of Sangli.

The Thakur Sahib of Wadhwan.

His Highness the Raj Sahib of Wankaner.

Punjab (including Punjab States).

The Rana of Baghat.

His Highness the Nawab of Bahawalpur.

The Raja of Kalsia.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala.

The Nawab of Lehara.

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.

His Highness the Maharaja of Sirmur.

His Highness the Raja of Suket.

Bihar and Orissa.

The Maharaja of Soupur.

The Raja of Taleber.

Central India.

His Highness the Nawab of Baoni.

His Highness the Raja of Jhabua.

His Highness the Maharaja of Orchha.

His Highness the Maharaja of Pauna.

His Highness the Maharaja of Rewa.

His Highness the Maharaja of Saunthar.

His Highness the Raja of Sitamau.

Gwalior.

His Highness the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior.

Rajputana.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner.

His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur.

His Highness the Maharawal of Jaisalmer

His Highness the Maharaja of Jodhpur.

His Highness the Maharao of Kotah.

Agendum No. 2.

Statement by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar regarding his work on the Imperial Conference in 1923.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses,—It is my pleasurable duty to-day to present before Your Highnesses certain important facts with regard to the Imperial Conference which I was privileged to attend, and, as Your Highnesses will observe, I have not put before you any printed statement. I hope that from one aspect it will be a relief to Your Highnesses. It is also due to the fact that I decided to speak from notes and I can promise Your Highnesses that I will have a statement prepared on the subjects which I shall not touch during my brief survey to-day for Your Highnesses' perusal if any of you should wish to go into the intricacies of the various problems concerned, afterwards. In 1923 I had proceeded on a holiday to England, after what I considered to be a fairly strenuous yet interesting time I had spent in my own country and in my State, and I intended to spend this holiday in Scotland. Just as I was making my preparations to proceed there I received a kind and pressing invitation from the Right Honourable the Secretary of State Lord Peel, on behalf of himself and His Excellency the Viceroy, asking me to be a delegate at the Imperial Conference to represent India and the Indian Princes. While I much valued the sentiments that conveyed the invitation to me, I felt that before accepting such a responsible position, I should first make it clear in my mind what I should be expected to do, therefore I told the Secretary of State before conveying my willing acceptance of the very kind invitation conveyed to me, that I would like to consult Lord Peel on one or two important points. When I saw him the first question I naturally asked was in what position I should appear in the Conference. Was I to be one of the representatives of India with my colleague Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru? Or was I to be a representative of my Order? Certainly, in neither case it was a question of election by either of the bodies concerned as I was invited by the Imperial Government to work at the Imperial Conference and so the third proposition was whether I should be going there as

an individual, no doubt interested in India and no doubt interested as I should be and ought to be in the Indian States. Lord Peel told me that while it had not been, as it had not been in previous instances also, a question of election or the delegation of a representative on behalf of Your Highnesses or on behalf of my country, I was to go there to express my views before the Imperial Conference but who nevertheless was an Indian and also belonged to the Order of the Princes of India. Lord Peel also expressed to me the difficulty of his own position for while he would be working as the head of the delegation from India, he at the same time was a member of the Imperial Cabinet to which all the decisions arrived in the Imperial Conference would be finally submitted for decision. The Prime Minister, Mr. Stanley Baldwin, had decided that in the case of the Secretary of State the previous precedent was to be followed but in my case I was to be at liberty to express such views as I thought were in the interests of the States, my country and the British Empire. With this amount of latitude given to me I was prepared to accept with much pleasure the kind invitation conveyed to me. Looking at it from a personal point of view, I said to Lord Peel that I knew there were other more distinguished members of my Order who were more capable than myself of discharging this onerous responsibility. But as I happened to be in England at the time and as the opportunity had been taken advantage of, I wanted to be quite certain at what time I would be expected to attend this Imperial gathering. When I was assured that the meeting would take place at the beginning of November or at the end of October, I had nothing to prevent me from taking on this responsible duty. I mention this because I wanted to be quite certain that I had enough time at my disposal to consider the various propositions that would come up before the Imperial gathering before I embarked on my responsible task. When I proceeded on my holiday to Scotland, I asked the Secretary of State to be good enough to forward to me an agenda of the various subjects that would come up for discussion. But apparently that proposition was to be decided in conjunction with the Dominion Premiers who had been invited, therefore I was given a copy of a telegram in September which had been

sent to the Dominion Premiers, explaining to them more or less the kind of subjects that would come up for discussion. The Secretary of State asked me and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru to come to the India Office to discuss with him other important problems that would come up for discussion. At that time, I would like to inform Your Highnesses, the question of Indians overseas was not on the Agenda of the Conference. The subjects finally brought up for consideration and which Mr. Baldwin discussed with the members of the Conference were:—

Message to Their Majesties the King and Queen.

Message to Japan on the devastation it had suffered due to earthquakes, etc.

The death of Mr. Bonar Law.

The question of publicity of the proceedings of the Conference.

The question of the Colonies, Protectorates, and Mandated Territories.

Foreign relations.

Negotiation, signature and ratification of Treaties.

The United States and the C./Mandated Territories.

The New Hebrides.

The question of Imperial Defence.

The status of High Commissioners who are the representatives of the Dominions at the headquarters of the Empire in England.

The position of British Indians in the Empire, which was subsequently added to the Agenda.

The contribution of India to the expenses of the League of Nations.

Questions of nationality in certain Dominions.

The validity of marriage between British subjects and foreigners.

Proposed extension of the powers of the Imperial War Graves Commission.

Spahlinger treatment of tuberculosis, and finally.

The closing address to His Majesty the King.

Your Highnesses, some of these questions relate to subjects that I

feel will not directly interest Your Highnesses, and such of you as may be interested to go into the minute details of these different subjects will be able to do so in the statement that I can prepare if desired. I therefore propose to deal with such subjects only in my speech to-day as I believe will interest you.

Naturally, the question which I think will not only interest Your Highnesses but which concerns and interests our country in general is the problem of Indians overseas. When the question of the C./Mandated Territories came up for consideration before the Imperial Conference, it was suggested that it might be made the basis for bringing forward this question of Indians overseas. But we approached Lord Peel who was sitting next to me and asked him to approach the Prime Minister and to suggest that a special day might be set aside for discussing this all-important question. The Prime Minister, after consulting the Dominion representatives, decided that one day should be set aside separately for discussing this all-important question. We were grateful to the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State that such an opportunity was offered to us and we reserved our remarks to that occasion instead of bringing the question in when the C./Mandated Territories were being discussed. When the question of the Indians overseas came up for discussion on the one day allotted, I might mention that, the problem being one of importance and one which ranged over a wide field, it eventually occupied three whole days in the Imperial Conference, which the Prime Minister and the Dominion representatives agreed to set aside for its discussion. In dealing with the question of Indians overseas, the problem really concerned three places, Kenya, British Columbia and South Africa. Kenya is a colony in East Africa administered by the Secretary of State for the Colonies. British Columbia is a Province in Canada of which Mr. Mackenzie King is the Prime Minister. South Africa is again a Dominion of which General Smuts was at that time Prime Minister. But when you come to consider the question of the British Empire and the stake of the Indians in that Empire outside India, it is interesting to see what really is implied by that word "British Empire". When you place the map of the world before you where the British Empire is marked red it brings home

certain interesting facts for you see a Dominion belonging to the British Empire, called by the name of Australia, nearly twice the size of India. Then you have Canada, which is nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 times the size of the United States of America. There is New Zealand, a small island but nevertheless of considerable size and Newfoundland which is south of Canada, a small island which for some reason or other has maintained its own separate entity, and I believe is the oldest of the Dominions existing to-day. But that does not exhaust the list of the important countries. Under the name of Protectorates, Mandated Territories and Colonies there are numerous other places which come under the sway of the British Empire. Of course, I have left out India, for perhaps it is not necessary to remind Your Highnesses that India also is an integral part of the British Empire! There are various other smaller principalities—Colonies—which are included in the British Empire, the names of which I need not mention to Your Highnesses. In all this vast tract of country which covers such a huge portion of the world the question that really concerned the Indian delegates at the Imperial Conference was that of our countrymen overseas in regard to Kenya, British Columbia and South Africa. Kenya is in the Highlands of East Africa where certain Indian traders a long time ago went and established themselves. Latterly some white population migrated from Britain and other parts of the British Empire, and established themselves there and difficulties arose, of which you are all aware. When the question came in of introducing democratic institutions there, which of course are hinged on the pivot of franchise—a frequent source as we know in our country of numerous difficulties and contests appearing on the scene. When these questions were being discussed, my colleague Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru suggested at the Imperial Conference that a Committee should be appointed by the Government of India and the Imperial Government to go to these three places in order to discuss with the local Government of the countries concerned the problems of the Indians overseas and if possible to arrive at a suitable solution after they had presented their part of the case. With regard to Kenya, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, who was then the Duke of Devonshire, readily accepted the sugges-

tion but proposed that as the Colonial Government dealt with these problems, the Committee should come to see him and meet him at the Colonial Office in England. What has happened since, Your Highnesses have probably followed in the papers. The Committee has gone and discussed the question of Kenya with the Secretary of State for the Colonies. It is not part of my business to go further than what happened at the Imperial Conference. In British Columbia, which is one of the eight provinces of Canada, Mr. Mackenzie King as the Prime Minister of that Dominion readily accepted the suggestion of receiving the Committee from India and discussing the problem of Indians in that province of the Dominion. Therefore, as far as these two places were concerned, the question gave no difficulty. Then came Australia, which place I regret I did not mention when I read out the names first. About Australia, Mr. Bruce, the Prime Minister said that the question of Indians in that Dominion was not a burning one or one of any great intricacy, because there were very few Indians there at present, and the question that mainly concerned him was the restriction of further emigration. He thought that there was no need for inviting the Committee to come there and he promised that when he returned there, he would put this question before his Legislature and he hoped that a suitable solution acceptable to our countrymen would be forthcoming. This promise was accepted by my colleague and myself. The last place on the list is South Africa where everybody knows, or at least those of you who are interested in such matters know that the question is one of considerable delicacy but nevertheless also one of equal importance. General Smuts, the Prime Minister of the South African Dominion, explained how in Transvaal, in the Orange Free State and in various other parts, these difficulties did not exist and that in one or two of these provinces Indians had an equal right as regards franchise. But the main difficulty lay in Natal. With regard to Natal, the question was that Indians exceeded in numbers the population of his own nationality and therefore the problem arose that if franchise was given, they would be outvoted by our countrymen. General Smuts, with whom the Secretary of

State and my colleague Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and myself had more than one private and informal conference to discuss the solution of our problem and to see if it was possible to arrive at some kind of satisfactory conclusion, explained in a heart to heart talk the real difficulties. As a matter of fact, he explained very clearly that personally he would like very much to find a solution that would enable them to carry on the duties with regard to their own country, or where they had established themselves for the last 200 years, and at the same time satisfy the reasonable desires of the Indians. But he said that a feeling had been roused—a feeling that was very unfortunate—whereby the two communities, our countrymen and his, had come to consider each other's interests from antagonistic points of view. If it is possible for me to read human nature and personalities I can safely say that General Smuts was sincerely anxious to find a solution. But he not being a despotic ruler of the South African Dominion but the chosen representative of the people of that country, felt bound to follow the opinions of the majority in the House which had elected him to that responsible position. Therefore it was only natural that to avoid the question of race or creed or colour they should seek other avenues and other platforms upon which to place this question, so that it may appear as though it showed no rancour of colour or creed. And for that reason, at least this was what was given before us, namely, that they did not regard it from the point of view of colour or of any nationality but considered it to be an economic problem. But if it was an economic problem and also it certainly was a political problem, from the point of view of franchise. Another argument that was brought in and very earnestly put forward by General Smuts was that if they were to give franchise to the Indians which they might ultimately be prepared to do, there could be no reason for withholding franchise from the South Africans proper, the coloured tribes that inhabited that country long before General Smuts, nationality entered on the scene. If they allowed franchise to the African aborigines merely on that question his countrymen would be easily outvoted and all the work that they had done for the last 200 years would be undone in the course of a very few days or months. I am merely putting forward the arguments that he gave us in order to estab-

lish his position and to explain his difficulties as regards the situation. But when I began to analyse in my mind what was the real difficulty, it appeared to me that there was very little doubt that it was a question of colour. This is not a question that affected South Africa alone. If I may digress for a moment, I hope it will be found to be of some interest to Your Highnesses to realise what perhaps a hundred or a hundred and fifty years ago the British Empire consisted of and what the British Empire consists of to-day.

Canada used to be inhabited by its own aboriginal tribes. There was no white population in Australia about the same time. About the same time there was certainly no white population in South Africa, and coming back here, a hundred and fifty years ago or perhaps a little more to the time before the advent of the East India Company when the Portuguese, the French and others came here for trading purposes also, there was no such white population in India. In 1509 we see how great a change has come about, and while I am discussing this very delicate question of colour, I hope that I shall be judged by the conclusions to which I come and not by what I proceed to say. We see that in 1492 Columbus seeking a new route to India across the Atlantic stumbled on the colossal breakwater of a new continent. In 1498 Vasco De Gama, also in search of a new route to India, found his way round the southern-most point of Africa into the Indian Ocean and landed at Calicut. Those were the first pioneers who were closely followed by others for trade and commerce, and gradually the methods of western civilisation came after them. Telegraphs, transport, cables, wirelesses, giant liners, trans-continental railways, and all those children of the internal combustion engine, the electric spark, the motor car, lorry, aeroplane, motor plough and such other things, all followed—apparently for purposes of trade, but really in order to bring together the scattered world for the ultimate purpose of harmony, for a higher ideal. And as we proceed, we see that these large continents are gradually becoming covered by the white population who rule these dominions, ruling these countries according to their own methods, are improving them and bringing prosperity in the train. Since

the Great War took place and even sometime before that, a self-consciousness had begun to come about in the original countrymen of the various countries. They began to realise that, "We also have a stake in the country, and we would also like to have some voice in its government. How is it possible for us to achieve that? They began to say, "You use us when you want us to lay down our lives to defend you. You even draw us in as you have done in Fiji and Africa when you want cheap labour. But you try to exclude us from political life and from holding lands in your territories, in your cities and in your farms. We cannot be content to be such tools for ever. You penetrate our shores. Why should we not penetrate yours for peaceful enterprise?" This consciousness is arising now which may be termed, it may be an unfortunate phrase, but nevertheless a true one,—the clash of colour, and that is the point to which I now come. Why is it that this clash of colour has occurred? Is there some divine source behind it or not? Is it merely intended to pull down civilisations in all the countries, or is it intended to bring about the phenomenon of something higher being evolved out of it? My own conviction is that by these western people going into countries and carrying with them methods of material civilisation and by giving peace giving the people also the opportunities to rise to their consciousness, a greater world is being evolved, a world that is being brought gradually, but certainly into one great harmony, a harmony to which we all look forward, where each one will be able to perform, regardless of colour, regardless of creed, even regardless of religion, the great purpose for which the divine law created this world and its various component parts.

I must now return to South Africa. There is no doubt in my mind that there it is primarily a question of colour. a solution of which the South African Dominion finds it difficult to arrive at. But I believe a solution will be forthcoming, and that is the point to which I want to come. How is that solution to be arrived at? Will it be achieved by quarrelling, by fighting, by threatening, or shall we be able to achieve our object if we utter high sounding words or threaten them with boycotts and such like proceedings. Your Highnesses know that such actions only arouse antagonism. If carried to its ultimate logical end, such

actions may even lead to such a situation arising where South Africa, when ultimately pushed to that length, will be prepared to fall out of the Empire rather than sacrifice the work they have done for their own nationality for the last 200 years. Such a contingency, therefore, does not only affect India but it affects the Empire, and when viewed from the larger standpoint, it is obvious,—at least it is obvious to me,—that the achievement of India's aims in South Africa can only be achieved by good will and by the exchange of friendly relationship. Rightly or wrongly, those were the sentiments that guided me; rightly or wrongly, those were the principles that appeared to me to be the most attractive and which I thought were in the best interests of my own country. If, therefore, I should have appeared to have fallen into the arms of my friend, General Smuts, I tell Your Highnesses what was the main principle on which I worked. And it is certainly easier to deal with friends than with those who are antagonistic to us. I am still hopeful that a solution of this important problem will be arrived at, and although General Smuts refused the Committee because he explained that it would only enhance the difficulties that already existed and would create further bitterness amongst the two nationalities, nevertheless, he showed the anxiety that some solution must be found.

After all this, to come to something personal might sound as something presumptuous on my part, but I mention it because I believe that the statesman who gave utterance to his views really showed thereby how anxious he was to come to a solution. General Smuts was kind enough to ask me at the Imperial Conference, in the public gathering, that he would welcome me if I could go to South Africa and examine the problem for myself, and help in the solution of this great problem. I could not but accept such an invitation even if it involved inconvenience which it certainly would, for I personally had no other predilections to go to South Africa not even to embrace General Smuts again. A long time ago, in my youth, an astrologer once told me that during my life I should make particular friends with Scotsmen and the Dutch. I certainly claim to possess many friends from Scotland, but I have never yet found people from Holland, with whom I have had opportunities to make

friends. But I discovered that the prophecy was perhaps coming true when I met General Smuts, who is a Dutchman. And now I claim to assert this in the face of any aspersions that may be cast on my statement that this friendship began only because I found General Smuts was genuinely anxious to find a solution of difficulties. I believe that if the South African question can be tackled—although he is now out of power, with a sense of friendship and goodwill and with an earnest desire to find a solution, it would not be impossible; still to find a happy solution. That, at least, is my faith.

Now, Your Highnesses, I should like to explain to you certain points in which I found some difficulty. The first was that all the Dominion Premiers who came to that gathering were the elected representatives of the Dominions. They were Prime Ministers, and the telegram that was circulated in September formed the basis of discussion of the various problems that were going to come up before the Imperial Conference. The Dominion Premiers had ample time to discuss these problems with their own Governments, to know their views and their wishes, and they came prepared with a tremendous force of their own country's opinion behind them to express their views before the Imperial Conference. I can realise the difficulty of convening a Session of our Princes Chamber before an Imperial Conference is going to be convened, to discuss the problems that are going to come before the Conference. But the difficulty, nevertheless, lies here that, although I had the privilege of being selected as a member of your Order by His Excellency the Viceroy, any views that I uttered were more or less individual, for I was not able to know the views of brother Princes. Therefore, I only hope that it may be possible hereafter, provided sufficient notice is received from Government to give your representative to the next Imperial Conference, whoever he be, some opportunity of knowing beforehand what the views are that he should represent even if they be the views of the Government of India, on the various questions that come before the Conference. If it should be Your Excellency's pleasure to consider the advisability of thinking over this proposition and asking the Chamber to select a panel of 5 or 6 Princes from whom Your Excellency can make the

final choice—I believe it would give such a representative greater force when he is desired to express his views before such an Imperial gathering.

The second difficulty I had to experience was that my colleague, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, unfortunately fell ill and therefore we were unable to discuss things together as much as I should personally have liked. I sympathised with him in his physical difficulties and I really admired the courage which he summoned in tackling the important questions that were before the Imperial Conference with a health which went against him. I invited him to come and stay with me at my own hotel so that day and night whenever such questions came forward we could discuss them, and I am glad to say that he very willingly accepted my invitation and was prepared to come. I went to the extent of engaging his rooms when unfortunately due to ptomaine poisoning he went so ill again that we were afraid he might not be able to attend even one or two meetings of the Imperial Conference. It is for this reason—against which perhaps other reasons have been ascribed—that we were unable to consult together on all the points on which we wanted to express our opinions before the Imperial Conference and I personally consider it my misfortune as it was his from the point of view of his illness.

The third question which I should like to place before Your Highnesses—and it is one which vitally concerns you—is that when one of Your Highnesses' representatives is chosen by the Viceroy to go to such a gathering in future, some kind of papers and precedents should be available to him which he could study and from which he could judge what kind of gathering it is, what kinds of subjects have come before it in the past. At present the Delegate that goes from Your Highnesses' Order has nothing to assist him. Papers that deal with such important problems are not personal property, and therefore I maintain that they should be kept in a central office where the next person, whoever is selected to go, will find such communications readily available to him, at any rate to study and to prepare himself with regard to past practice and so forth. That involves the question of a suitable office staff for the Chancellor about which we had discussions in our informal meetings. I hope Your Excellency will let me express a few words

about the subject to-day, because it is vital to our Chamber's success. It is only at such a central office that such correspondence, such communications and such papers can be kept together in one place. Therefore I hope that Your Highnesses will see that not only from the point of view of the interests of our Order, but for Imperial purposes also, that the sooner you establish such an office the better will it be.

Now, Your Highnesses, I know that Your Highnesses are interested in the question of precedence. Due, unfortunately, to my colleague's indisposition he was unable to take part in several of the social functions including banquets. Therefore I had to indulge in a plethora of feasts amounting altogether to 17, which added work by night to our already fairly occupied time. But I accepted these invitations with pleasure for the simple reason that I felt that the hospitality was not extended to me in my individual capacity but to India and it gave me an opportunity of exchanging sentiments with the people in Britain in regard to which I have published all my speeches and have circulated them to my friends to show what were the sentiments that the people in England really held about India only if the right point of view was put forward and things were rightly understood. (Hear, hear). As regards precedence, it would seem as if I was blowing my own trumpet. There, again, I was not looking after myself individually, which perhaps I was quite capable of doing, but I was looking after Your Highnesses' dignity and position—that is at least how it struck me. Therefore, before I attended any of these functions, official or semi-official, I made enquiries as to what would be my position, and out of the 17 banquets, at 16 of them the Prince from India was given precedence over all the Dominion Premiers and representatives. I want to mention this in order to place it on record because when I made enquiries from the Political A. D. C. at the India Office I found as a delegate to the Imperial Conference, India occupies the last place on the tables of the Empire, but remember individually as a member of your Order I occupied this position which I hope Your Highnesses will feel was in your common interests.

Now, Your Highnesses, in my concluding remarks I have only to say this. My

short experience on the Imperial Conference has indeed been an eye-opener to me and one that I shall never forget, for although I knew of the British Empire, somehow or other the atmosphere in that small dingy room in 10, Downing Street, small as it was, was such that you breathed the exhilarating air of the Empire. The British Empire there became to me a living reality, something that did not exist merely on maps, merely on land, but something that had a far higher connection and that was in the hearts and minds of the peoples forming the component parts of this great heritage of His Majesty the King Emperor. There one felt that different nationalities, creeds, religions, countries, were all brought together, and the symbol, the factor which united them together and kept them together in bonds, not of steel or of iron, but of affection and goodwill, was the symbol of the Crown that we all regard with such veneration and devotion. The Imperial Conference, as the word itself signifies, is a gathering of the sister nations forming integral parts of the Empire and there were there great statesmen with whom one came into contact—great statesmen all not wanting primarily to do something or gain something that they could possibly achieve for their own countries, for their own nationalities, for their own dominions, but each prepared to give,—some little, some more,—what was in their power to make this British Empire, which is already great, something greater, so that it may go down to posterity greater than the heritage our generations have received, greater in order that it may be the symbol not of force, not of persecution, but of liberty, and what is more, of love and affection.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses.—Once again during this session of the Chamber, it is my privilege to move a vote of thanks, this time to a friend of my early boyhood, His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar, who, in the words of Your Excellency's inaugural Address, has devoted his capacities to the service of India and the Empire.

Not many words of mine are needed to commend this motion to Your Highnesses. His Highness' intellectual attainments, his eloquence and power of expression, which, if I may say so, are equal to his understanding of the problems, with the study

which he brings to bear upon them, and also the zeal, energy and devotion in matters affecting us and our Order—a rare combination of qualities with which His Highness went fortified on his Imperial mission—are so familiar to us that I do not feel justified, with the heavy agenda before us to-day, in taking up your time by dwelling upon them further.

We have all followed with interest the statement of the meritorious work done by His Highness at the Imperial Conference, where he had in particular to deal with the very difficult and delicate subject of the position of our countrymen in the Dominions and Colonies, including Kenya.

On this all-important subject there is no need for me to speak further beyond mentioning what a great pleasure it was to me, as Chancellor, after reference to Your Highnesses, to co-operate with His Highness, in close co-operation and in close consultation with His Excellency the Viceroy in despatching to His Highness, as the representative of the Princes of India, a cordial message of friendship and goodwill to His Majesty's Government and the British Nation and British Dominions and Colonies, and an expression of the Princes' earnest hope that the united efforts of all concerned in the Conference would yield some satisfactory results by drawing closer into bonds of good fellowship, the great comity of Nations forming the British Empire. I venture to feel that the Chamber will agree that such a message, delivered in His Highness' fine style to the various Heads and other eminent representatives of the various parts of the Empire at that impressive gathering in 10, Downing Street, could not fail to create the best impressions.

May I take this opportunity to digress for a moment and to venture, with all respect and friendliness especially to those in this Chamber who are younger than us, to impress upon them the benefits and advantages accruing from close co-operation for the common weal, even though occasional differences of personal opinion might have arisen which must fall to the lot of all honest men who stick to their principles. Where the interests of our Order are concerned, His Highness deserves our united thanks, and, may I add, our congratulations on the self-effacing manner in which he has acted up to his principles by doing what

he thinks is right and in the best interests of our Order even when he is otherwise unable to see eye to eye in respect to certain matters.

Those of his brother Princes who followed His Highness' work on this Imperial mission will recall with pride the great impression which he made by his speeches, both in regard to their subject matter as well as to the method of delivery which we all have learnt to associate with His Highness.

Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; though my speech may not be long, I feel sure that Your Excellency, His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar, and all Your Highnesses will not associate with the brevity of my remarks any lack of enthusiasm for His Highness' valuable work on this Mission, and I feel confident that I echo the united sentiments of this Chamber when I beg to move a hearty vote of thanks to His Highness and, again in the words of His Excellency the Viceroy, to felicitate him upon the very able and distinguished manner in which he has performed his responsible task.

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses,—His Highness the Chancellor in moving the vote of thanks has already spoken so eloquently of the remarkable success achieved by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar as our Representative at the Imperial Conference that I feel diffident in adequately expressing my sentiments free from repetition. I know, by personal experience, the weight of responsibility entailed by participation in such a gathering as the Imperial Conference. The handicaps and disabilities, which we from India suffer from, whenever we are called upon to express our views in a language which cannot be called our own, are also considerable. Nevertheless, it is a matter of no small gratification and pleasure to feel that His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar has mastered, as it were, the difficulties of circumstance to such an extent that men qualified by birth and by attainments to speak with authority on the subject, have paid a glowing tribute to the erudition, the culture and the choice diction of His Highness in his utterances at the Imperial Conference and elsewhere. The Ruling Princes of India feel proud of His Highness' excellent achievements and work, as the representative of their

Order, at this International gathering. His Highness is a valuable asset of the Narendra Mandal. That he has done his work well is no surprise to me. Nothing less was expected of him. By the advocacy of our interests at the Imperial Conference and by the expression in glowing language of the legitimate aspirations of India before the British public, as well as the representatives of other Dominions, His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar has rendered a signal service to our Order and to our Motherland.

With these few words I heartily second the vote of thanks to His Highness proposed by His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner.

His Excellency the Viceroy: Your Highnesses,—As I bear a special responsibility in regard to the mission which was entrusted to His Highness of Alwar, I feel that I should not only like to associate myself most thoroughly with all that has been said both by the Chancellor, His Highness of Bikaner, and by His Highness of Patiala, both of whom have had experiences of missions of this character and therefore speak with a special knowledge and understanding of the difficulties, but I also desire, speaking as the representative of the King-Emperor in the Indian Empire, to thank His Highness of Alwar not only for the services he rendered when he attended the Imperial Conference. I have already referred to His Highness' services in my opening address; but may I say to him to-day after having heard his address that his utterance was one worthy of the Princes for whom he spoke, worthy of the Chamber of Princes of which he is so prominent a Member, worthy of the Empire which he so nobly championed before us. I have seldom heard a finer conception of Empire described than in the concluding words that fell from His Highness of Alwar. I felt with him, as he spoke of the advantage it is to be able to conceive the Empire as it really is rather than to get one's knowledge of Empire from books, from documents, from maps and from newspapers. He so well explained the true spirit of Empire that I wish to thank him for all that he has said to-day.

In relation to India, His Highness has explained to you that there are special difficulties under which Princes and other delegates from India suffer at times. I do not propose to make any observations about them at this moment,

save that I will say that consideration should be given to those special perplexities to which he has referred and which have been brought to my notice also sometimes. But I do wish to emphasise that His Highness, like others of your Chamber and of your Order who at the Councils of the Empire, to be representatives of the Empire, are representatives not only of the Indian States but are the representatives of India—India consisting of British India and the Indian States. The advantage of a Member of Your Highnesses' Chamber or Order sitting at the Conference Table with other representatives, the Prime Ministers elected by their people, is that you represent something which otherwise would be unrepresented at the Council Chamber. There are no men sitting at that Conference who stand in the same position as Your Highnesses; and therefore so far from regretting that there should be this special distinction, I think it desirable and eminently fitting that one of you should be present, and that you should add your voice to that of the other delegates of India, and that I know is His Highness of Alwar's own understanding of the matter. Let me once more warmly congratulate His Highness upon the work that he did, but also upon bringing back with him so fine, so wide, so noble a conception of that constellation in the world's firmament which we describe as the British Empire.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses,—It was bad enough to be attacked from three sides—from the back by His Highness the Jam Maharaj of Nawanagar, and from the two sides by my brother His Highness of Bikaner and by my friend, His Highness of Patiala, but now when Your Excellency joins the trio by delivering a direct frontal attack, I feel that I am completely defeated. The attack is one which it is very difficult to withstand, for anything that pertains to the physical body can be resisted but one that comes direct from the heart and goes to the heart is indeed difficult not only to resist but certainly to give any reply to in words. As the President of our Chamber let me thank Your Excellency cordially for the more than generous references you have made with regard to the very little I may have been able to do at the Imperial Conference. I thank Your Highnesses for the kind words you have mentioned in moving the

vote of thanks and in seconding it. I am grateful to you but even that gratefulness leads to something further: and if it gives rise to any ambition in my mind, it is this, that if I have done a little on this occasion, then, if another occasion arises and a task is given to me in however small a capacity, that I might be of greater service to this Empire, an Empire which is to me not anything in name but something that exhilarates me with feelings to which no words of mine can give expression.

I once more desire to express my gratefulness to Your Excellency and to Your Highnesses, and I only wish that Providence may really make me capable so that I may be of use to this Empire in linking together humanity towards our united goal of the realisation of our Divinity within us.

Agendum No. 7.

Report of the Standing Committee regarding compensation for railway lands in Indian States.

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses,—In accordance with the decision of the Standing Committee in January 1924, the question of assessment of compensation for land required for railways in Indian States was considered by a Committee consisting of Ministers of Indian States and officials of the Government of India on the 20th May 1924. We have, therefore, before us first the summary as prepared by the Foreign and Political Department and secondly the summary as revised by the Committee of Ministers in June 1924. The Standing Committee only proposed a few modifications in the recommendations of the Ministers' Committee which Your Highnesses must have carefully examined. The principle underlying them has been that the laws of the State should have their rightful place in the adjudication of local disputes irrespective of their similarity or otherwise of British laws and that there should be provision for impartial and independent arbitrations when there was occasion for it.

With these few words I beg to submit that the Ministers' summary as finally amended by the Standing Committee be approved by the Chamber.

His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses, I beg to second the motion.

His Excellency the Viceroy: I take it that Your Highnesses' Chamber approves of the Report.

Agendum No. 9.

Report of the Standing Committee regarding the amendment of the First Regulations so as to exclude Panth Piploda from the list of lesser Chiefs in Central India entitled to vote for a Representative Member in the Chamber of Princes.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses;—I present now the Report of the Standing Committee regarding the amendment of the First Regulations so as to exclude Panth Piploda from the list of lesser Chiefs of Central India entitled to vote for a Representative Member in the Chamber of Princes. The proposal came from the Agent to the Governor General in Central India on the ground that the Estate was probably included by his predecessor among the lesser Chiefs by inadvertence and that there was really no justification for treating it as falling within the category of the lesser States in Central India.

The qualification of a lesser Chief to vote at an election of a Representative Member, according to Foreign and Political Department Resolution No. 615-R. of the 21st September 1921, is that he should be ruling over his own State, and I beg to propose that Your Highnesses do consequently accord your approval to the exclusion of Panth Piploda.

I might add that, simultaneously with this question, the Standing Committee took up the matter of the similar exclusion of Jamnia and Nimkhera and unanimously recommended their exclusion upon my raising the question on the reference made to me in my capacity as Chancellor by His Highness the Maharaja of Dhar, and both as Chancellor and in my personal capacity I ventured to express the opinion that from the facts before us those two Estates also were not entitled to representation—a view with which the Committee unanimously agreed.

I understand that the question is still pending and may require further discussion in the Standing Committee before any definite recommendation can be made to the Chamber.

His Highness the Raja of Sitamar: I second the motion.

His Excellency the Viceroy: We may take it, as I gather, that this motion has been accepted by the Chamber.

Agendum No. 15.

Resolution by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala in regard to the amplification of Foreign and Political Department Resolution No. 427-R., dated the 29th. October 1920, so as to fix a period of limitation for applications for the appointment of Courts of Arbitration.

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala: Your Excellency and Your Highnesses, the Resolution that stands in my name reads as follows:—

“This Chamber recommends to His Excellency the Viceroy that the Resolution of the Government of India in the Foreign and Political Department No. 427-R., dated the 29th October 1920, be amplified by the addition of the following paragraph:—

“No request for the appointment of a Court of Arbitration under this Resolution will be considered unless made within five years of the date on which the Darbar concerned is informed of the ruling or receives the advice in question.”

It is, as Your Highnesses have undoubtedly observed, a Resolution embodying a proposal for the amplification of a Resolution already adopted by the Government of India in the year 1920.

2. Before setting forth my grounds of justification for standing before Your Highnesses as the mover of this resolution, it would not, perhaps, be deemed unnecessary, were I to set forth in a few words the genesis and the history of the Government Resolution which is sought to be amplified.

3. When the distinguished authors of the Montford Report realised that in every country that enjoys the ‘dimensions, the traditions, and the population of a land as big, as old, and as thickly populated as ours is, cases are bound to arise, where the interests of several States will clash with one another; and when they further felt that there was no suitable machinery that could be employed for the settlement of such cases, to the satisfaction of the parties concerned, they, in paragraph

304 of their Report, made certain observations on the advisability of the formation of Courts of Arbitration to which such disputes could be referred in cases of need: and of whose independence and impartiality the contending parties could have no reasonable grounds for suspicion.

“Our proposal” they wrote, “is concerned with the disputes which arise between two or more States, or between a State and a Local Government, or the Government of India, and with a situation caused when a State is dissatisfied with the ruling of the Government of India or the advice of any of its local representatives. In such cases, there exists at the present moment no satisfactory method of obtaining an exhaustive and judicial enquiry into the issues, such as might satisfy the States, particularly in cases where the Government of India itself is involved, that the issues have been considered in an independent and impartial manner.”

These, Your Highnesses, form the basis for the Government of India Resolution of 1920. The Princes of India also in their scheme of the formation of ‘Narendra Mandal’ had advocated such Courts of Arbitration.

4. Your Highnesses, I do not propose to go into the merits of this Resolution. What I am merely concerned with to-day is the question of limitation on which this Resolution was silent. No time bar was originally set on the right of a Prince to seek redress under this Resolution. The Government of India however felt the need to make it clear that it was not “contemplated that the new procedure should be used for the purpose of reviving old disputes which have long been settled”. They therefore proposed the amplification of that resolution by the addition of the following new paragraph:—

“No applications for the appointment of a Court of Arbitration under this resolution will be considered unless made within six months of the date on which the Darbar concerned is informed of the ruling or receives the advice in question, provided that the Governor General may at his discretion extend the period to twelve months”.

When the question of this new addition to the old resolution came up for discussion before the Standing Committee, it was felt that the limitation proposed was very inadequate and that the proposal deserved very careful consideration. The restriction of six months might in most cases deprive the aggrieved Prince for reasons beyond his control from the benefit of the provisions of this resolution. It was also, we thought, against the spirit of times that the rights, privileges, responsibilities, and duties should be unduly restricted.

5. Circumstances, internal and external, may conceivably arise which may compel a Prince to pay greater attention—in fact sole attention—to other matters than to a dispute which had been decided against him. Disabilities born of distance, of disease, of travel, and similar other causes can also lead to make the period of six months as woefully insufficient for preferring a request for a Court of Arbitration.

6. Your Highnesses, in prescribing a period of limitation for a request for the appointment of a Court, we should not be unmindful of the unusual nature of the disputes that are intended to be covered by the proceedings under the Government of India Resolution. Mostly these disputes would be of a political complexion, closely connected with the infringements of sovereignty, of status, of dignity, and of boundaries, etc., etc. Now, quarrels of this nature demand time to mature, and would usually go to a Court of Arbitration only, as the last resort, when simple remedies by diplomatic settlement have proved infructuous. Moreover, the allowance of a very short period for the invocation of the right to ask for a Court of Arbitration. I am afraid, would work as an incentive to litigation.

7. Again, were we to narrow down the time of limitation to the short period of six months, the inostensible but potent factors, that work for peace, would to a large extent, lose their character and potency in bringing the disputants to the side of amity and peace.

8. I, therefore, propose that, instead of six months, the period of limitation should be not less than five years. Knowing intimately, as I do, the working of State administrations and of relations that sometimes subsist between the States on the one hand and their neighbours, the Central or Local Governments of

British India on the other, I personally believe even this period of five years is not ample for getting justice done to an aggrieved Prince.

9. Taking into consideration, however, the fact it would not perhaps be possible to dispense with limitation, I have suggested five years' time limit. Personally I would have much preferred, that the resolution stood as it originally did on the date of its promulgation in the year 1920, i.e., unaffected by limitation of time.

10. Your Excellency, with these few observations I beg to move the resolution.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; I beg to second the motion. The period of six months originally proposed was altogether too short and would often not have allowed time even for the necessary examination of the question and getting the material together, much less for obtaining legal opinion and drafting representations and all such other work, and in regard to the more important questions for reference to Courts of Arbitration and for settlement of disputes arising between the Government of India or a Local Government on the one side and any Indian State on the other, or between two or more States or in regard to cases where a State is dissatisfied with the ruling or the advice of the British Government or its local representative, the limit of the time proposed to be fixed for five years is, I submit, really not very long. It is a totally different matter from the procedure of time-limit fixed for memorials presented to the Government of India which are often done by those who are the disloyal and discontented subjects of Indian States.

There is one more important point which requires, to my mind, to be made clear beyond any doubt or dispute in the future. This period of limitation should only apply to cases and disputes which, to quote the Government of India memorandum explanatory of this item which as submitted to the Standing Committee last August, "had long been settled", i.e., cases and disputes which have been dealt with for good and all, but should not under any circumstances be considered applicable to any advice, ruling or dispute regarding cases which may ultimately be found not to have been really settled or finished or which may have simmered up again especially as the result, direct or indirect, of the advice

of the British Government or its representatives or from whatever other cause, in spite of any interval that may have elapsed between the final or the supposed final settlement of such a dispute or matter and its being again revived in some form or other.

This is a matter of the most vital importance as I think is sufficiently clear. Nor does it require any emphasis on my part to urge in regard to any such amendment for the period of limitation that nothing in regard to such period of limitation should be done which would be contrary to the spirit and the object underlying the proposal for a Court of Arbitration and the Resolution of the Government of India on the subject whereby effect was given to the request and wishes of the Princes of India in this respect as a matter of justice and equity.

His Excellency the Viceroy: The Resolution moved is to recommend that the limitation of five years should be imposed in relation to the appointments of Courts of Arbitration. I gather that Your Highnesses are all agreed to this course and therefore the Resolution is carried.

Agendum No. 3.

Report of the Standing Committee regarding wireless telegraphy and telephony in Indian States.

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala: Your Excellency and Your Highnesses, the question of the policy of Government regarding wireless telegraphy and telephony came up before the Princes some time back. The summary of the Government as originally prepared, was, for the first time, put before and revised by the Standing Committee as early as November 1922. The same process was repeated in September 1923. The last revised summary came up again for the consideration of the Standing Committee in January 1924. We discussed the January summary in August last at our Simla meeting (on the 21st August 1924). The Committee has now, in the fourth revision, remodelled the text of the January summary which is appended to the printed proceedings which are already in Your Highnesses' hands.

I wish particularly to point out that in regard to the allocation of revenue it was agreed by us that this question should be separately considered. The erection of wireless stations, their con-

trol and methods of work we have, for obvious reasons, separated from the question of the revenue that is expected to accrue from the installation and working of wireless stations in the States. Our summary is based on the principle that the fullest co-operation with the Government of India wherever possible should be achieved without prejudice to the rights and interests of the States. We believe that these proposals would ensure reasonable co-ordination between the States and the Government of India in a matter which is of mutual interest and benefit to both. We have at the same time not been unmindful of the obligations laid on the Government of India by the International Telegraph Convention. With these remarks, Your Excellency, I beg to move that the summary be generally approved by the Chamber.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar: Your Excellency, I am going to follow the noble example of my colleague and neighbour, His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur, in making the briefest speech of the session therefore I gladly second the Resolution moved by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala, which, I feel sure, Your Highnesses will pass in willing acquiescence.

The Pant Sachiv of Bhor: Your Excellency, I second the Resolution.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses,—As His Highness of Patiala has just said the summary now presented to Your Highnesses is, the outcome of prolonged discussions and careful consideration in the Standing Committee on at least four occasions in between 1922 and now. In supporting the motion that the Chamber should accord its general approval to the summary, I should like especially to invite Your Highnesses' attention to paragraph 1, column 5, containing the Committee's recommendations of August last. In clause 1 it has been explained how essential it is with a view to maintain co-ordination and to avoid mutual interference that there should be previous consultation with the experts of the Government of India in regard to certain details such as the type of installation and power required, suitable wave lengths, etc. Otherwise, there is a risk that the apparatus may be quite inadequate and may involve unnecessary waste of public funds in the State, and

PROCEEDINGS OF THE FOURTH DAY.

November 20th, 1924.

The following Ruling Princes and Chiefs were present :—

Kashmir.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir.

Madras (Madras States).

The Nawab of Banganapalle.

Bombay (including States of Western India).

His Highness the Raja of Baria.

The Pant Sachiv of Bhor.

His Highness the Maharaja of Dhrangadhia.

The Raja of Jawahar.

The Thakur of Kadana.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur

The Thakur Sahib of Limbdi

The Raja of Mudhol.

His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanagar

The Thakur Sahib of Palitana.

His Highness the Maharaja of Porbandar.

His Highness the Maharaja of Rajpipla

The Chief of Sangli.

The Thakur Sahib of Wadhwan

His Highness the Raj Saheb of Wankaner.

Punjab (including Punjab States).

The Rana of Baghat.

His Highness the Nawab of Bahawalpur.

The Raja of Kalsia.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala.

The Nawab of Loharu.

His Highness the Nawab of Malerkotla

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.

His Highness of Maharaja of Sirmur.

Bihar and Orissa.

The Maharaja of Sonpur.

The Raja of Talcher.

Central India.

His Highness the Nawab of Baoni

His Highness the Raja of Jhabua.

His Highness the Maharaja of Orchha.

His Highness the Maharaja of Panna.

His Highness the Maharaja of Rewa.

His Highness the Raja of Sailana.

His Highness the Maharaja of Samthar.

His Highness the Raja of Sitamau.

Gwalior.

His Highness the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior.

Rajputana.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner.

His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur.

His Highness the Maharawal of Jaisalmer.

His Highness the Maharao of Kotah.

Sikkim.

His Highness the Maharaja of Sikkim.

Agendum No. 10.

Resolution by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar recommending the exemption of all Members of the Chamber of Princes in their own right from the payment of customs duties on articles imported for their personal use.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses, the Resolution that stands in my name to be moved at this moment is with regard to the extension of the privilege of importing goods for personal use customs free, hitherto enjoyed by Princes with salutes of 19 and 21 guns to all Princes with salutes of 9 guns and over who are hereditary Members of the Narendra Mandal. The origin of this Resolution lies in the recommendation made by His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior and the report of the Committee appointed to consider the recommendations of the Indian Fiscal Commission. At the meeting of the Chamber of Princes on the 5th February, 1923, the following Resolution was moved by His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior:

"As the future fiscal policy of the Government of India determined on a consideration of the recommendations of the Fiscal Commission may affect the vital interests of the Indian States and their subjects, this Chamber resolves upon the appointment of a Committee consisting of Members of this Chamber, the representatives of the Government of India to be nominated by His Excellency, and Ministers of States to be nominated by the Chamber to deal with the matter and to submit their report by the 10th February, when the report should be discussed in the Chamber."

His Highness proposed that the Committee should consist of the following:

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner,

His Highness the Maharao of Cutch,

The mover (i.e., His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior),

Sir Manubhai Mehta,

Sir Sukhdeo Parshad,

Colonel Haksar, and

Three officers appointed by His Excellency the President of our Chamber.

I will make a brief reference to this subject. They say in the report which they submitted, "With reference to paragraph 7, the Princes and the representatives of the States strongly urge that if section 20 of the Sea Customs Act be not repealed, goods ordered from outside India by the Governments of the States should be exempted from customs duties which under the present system have the effect of increasing the cost of important enterprises within the States and raising prices against the subjects of the States."

The Princes and the representatives of the States are also of opinion that if the claim of the States to the remission of customs duties is admitted, the States would be prepared to protect British Indian industries by levying equivalent duties on imports into their territories.

The Princes and the representatives of the States on the Committee are of opinion that the privileges allowed to Princes with salutes of 19 and 21 guns of importing goods customs free for their own use should be extended to all Princes and Chiefs who are permanent Members of the Chamber". I have here read out the deliberations and the results of the Committee appointed to give an opinion on the subject; and my Resolution, which is based on this report, emphasises, as is laid down in the text of the Resolution, that this privilege which is now enjoyed by Princes with salutes of 19 and 21 guns should be extended by the kind and sympathetic consideration of His Excellency the Viceroy, and his Government to the Princes who are the permanent Members of this Chamber in their own right. Your Highnesses, when I was commissioned by some of you to move this Resolution, I was doubtful, as you will see from a note put down in the agenda, whether I should move it and it is up to me now to explain why that doubt occurred and how it has been removed from my mind. Although I shall be touching on a question that was a matter of some contention some time ago, nevertheless, in justice to myself, I should like to explain the reasons. Your Highnesses will remember that I have always been a warm advocate of the fact that the position and dignity of the Princes of India should be maintained at a high level and at a high standard. It was for that reason, if I may be permitted to recall to your memory the instance when the question of the inclusion of Members in the

Chamber was brought up and when the problem of the Chamber itself was being discussed—that I had suggested that the “demarcation line” for the Princes should be fixed at a high standard and that other Princes, who came below that mark, should, where their powers did not come up to the full standard laid down, be given favourable consideration by the Viceroy and their powers raised and their salutes, where they appeared to be inconsistent with the position of a Prince, be raised to a fair standard in order that the general position of the Princes who attend this Chamber in their own right may be one which would be signified by salutes equivalent to their inherent rights and position. Your Highnesses will remember what a storm of opposition I created and what contentions arose, and even at the risk of arousing misunderstanding, which did arise at that time, I had the audacity to propose that the standard should not be lowered. I will not recall, for I am sure it is on Your Highnesses’ memory, the results of my movement. But nevertheless, guided by the best motive in Your Highnesses’ interests, those were the principles on which I wanted the Chamber to stand. Rightly or wrongly, I adhere to those principles still. It was decided subsequently that the criterion that should be fixed for all Princes, who in their own right come into this Chamber, should be 9 gun salutes and over. Since that decision was given, it is now an established fact and the question of fixing the level at a higher standard and bringing in the Princes who were below it due to circumstances and history by raising their level is also past history. Therefore, I was doubtful in my mind whether I should be adhering to my principle if I now embarked on a Resolution which proposed an extension of the privilege enjoyed by the 19 and 21 gun salute Princes to Princes, with salutes of 9 guns and over. I wanted to make it clear why this doubt arose in my mind, and while I am now the principal mover of the Resolution to the effect that the privilege should be so extended, because the constitution of the Chamber has been decided upon I still hope that a time may come when the salutes of the Princes which are limited to 9 and 11 guns may be raised to a higher standard in keeping with their position and their dignity as inherent and rightful Members of this Chamber. (Hear, hear.) Your Highnesses will, I am sure, forgive me for

this digression on my part to explain my position. I now cordially join in the sentiment which is uppermost in Your Highnesses’ mind and do not feel that there will be much opposition on Your Highnesses’ part in wanting the Resolution which I am moving. I can do no more than conclude this brief statement of mine by adding that I hope that the extension of this privilege of having articles brought into India free of customs duties will receive the generous and favourable consideration of His Excellency and his Government.

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses, the learned mover has said practically all that could be said for the resolution. It is, to say the least, quite incomprehensible as to why Indian Rulers who enjoy complete autonomy within their territories should be subjected, even in the matter of articles for their personal use, consigned to their States, to payment of Customs Duty at the seaports of India, which practically amounts to the levy of a Transit Duty. It is, I venture to observe, not merely a question of dignity, but a question of right and privilege.

I beg to second the resolution so ably moved by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses, I rise to support the resolution so ably moved by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar and seconded by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala. I am sure the extension of the concession at present limited to a very small number of the Members of our Order in the case of all Ruling Princes who are Members of this Chamber in their own right would be interpreted by the beneficiaries as a further step towards meeting their legitimate aspirations and would earn their grateful appreciation. I am equally confident that the resolution will not fail to receive the sympathetic consideration of Your Excellency whose gracious good-will towards us and earnest desire to advance our interests has already been demonstrated on more than one occasion.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses, in supporting the Resolution moved by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar, I should like, first of all, to emphasise that the Princes do not look upon this question from the point of

view of monetary gain or pecuniary importance, but as one affecting their *izzat*, dignity and rights.

In some at least of our States, if not in all of them, all articles taken for the use of the British Government including live stock for the Indian Army—as for example, horses, camels, etc.—are specially exempted by us, as a matter of courtesy, from payment of any export customs duty and it is only right in this, as in other cases, that there should be a system of absolute reciprocity.

Furthermore, the logic is difficult to justify that only Princes enjoying permanent salutes of 19 guns and over should be exempted from the payment of customs duties whilst the Rulers of smaller or poorer States should have to pay them, and the only logical conclusion, I submit, is that at least all Princes who are Members in their own right of the Chamber of Princes, should enjoy this courtesy and compliment. In fact, I would personally go even further and say that—even though monetary considerations are not, as I have said, the basis of this recommendation—the smaller and the poorer the States, the greater the necessity for this exemption and courtesy. Indeed, I would go still further and say that, if it is a matter of practical politics, not only the 108 Princes who are in their own right Members of the Chamber of Princes but also all the more important of the Ruling Chiefs—and in this term I do not include the petty Chiefs with practically no powers and possessions—should, if possible, also enjoy this privilege and courtesy.

Personally I am of opinion that not only goods imported for the personal use of the Ruler, but also those for the State, should, by some practical means or other, be exempted from customs duties and I would respectfully add for Your Excellency's consideration that an examination of the question will show that there is no real justification for the levying of such duties. In fact, as a matter of justice, it would be right that all goods destined for the Indian States should be exempted from British customs duties unless and until practical effect is given to the claim of the Indian States to participate in the proceeds of the Sea Customs levy at British ports in proportion to the quantity of goods imported into the States from these ports.

We are gratefully aware of the interest and action that is being taken in regard to this wider question by Your Excellency and we also look forward in that connection to its receiving your favourable and sympathetic consideration. Such exemption, which might gracefully be announced—though I say it myself—by way of part recognition of the valuable military services rendered by the Indian States in the Great War, would be appreciated by the Princes as a great compliment and courtesy.

I had ventured, in a Note which I submitted in 1919 containing some proposals for the post-war recognition of the services of the Princes and States of India, to urge that this was one of the graceful means of acknowledging the part played by the States in the War.

Now that this matter has in this formal manner been ventilated before Your Excellency, we feel that we may confidently anticipate that it will receive your favourable and urgent consideration.

This Resolution may involve a certain loss of revenue to the British Indian Exchequer, but the amount would be small and in any case would be a mere trifle compared with the millions poured out or willingly and loyally given in the service of the country by the States in maintaining their troops in the field of battle and in gifts and contributions in other ways made during the Great War, as well as with the amounts spent by the States in peace time for Imperial services and Imperial purposes in various ways. I trust that it will not be out of place for me also to mention here that heavy sacrifices have often been made through the States co-operating loyally with the British Government in big matters of policy, such, for instance, as the opium question, which has involved a considerable loss of revenue not only to the richer but also to many of the poorer States, and we feel sure that, in the event of what I might term departmental arguments being urged, it will be Your Excellency's desire that the matter should be viewed in its wider and Imperial aspect and that due consideration will be given to doing the right thing by the Princes, not only as Allies and Friends but also as in effect as well as in name, Colleagues and Partners in the task of Imperial rule.

His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses, Their Highnesses the mover and the seconder have so thoroughly explained the need of such a Resolution that nothing new can be added to it, but I have said these few words for fear of His Highness (Alwar), my friend, making the same remark of too brief a speech may not be repeated to-day. In conclusion, I whole-heartedly support the Resolution and can safely say that I am voicing strongly the wishes of all the Princes who have not actually spoken on the subject.

His Highness the Raja of Sitamau: Your Excellency and Your Highnesses, I feel great pleasure in supporting the resolution, moved by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar. His Highness' resolution, aiming as it does, at the redress of a grievance felt by many of us in the matter of the privilege so far enjoyed by only a few of our Order, cannot but evoke a feeling of sincere satisfaction.

The resolution, as it stands, is catholic in its nature, and is calculated to bring within the privileged fold, the Princes who are permanent Members of this Chamber. I am happy to note and appreciate the spirit with which His Highness of Alwar has moved the resolution, and I congratulate His Highness on his solicitude and earnestness, in bringing forward measures for the common good of our distinguished Order. With these observations I heartily support the resolution.

The Pant Sachiv of Bhor: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses, permit me to extend my humble support as a Representative Member, to the resolution so eloquently placed before the House, by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar, and by other Maharajas, with great skill and ability. When this resolution will be passed by this House and accepted by Government, the special concession enjoyed hitherto by 10 States, will fall to the lot of 98 more States, the Rulers of which are Members of this Chamber in their own right. It will, indeed, be a source of great gratification, not only to the Ruling Princes and Chiefs who will be entitled to this new privilege, but I can assure you that even lesser Princes will gladly share with equal joy, the good fortune of their more lucky brothers in the Chamber.

Your Excellency, I do not pretend to conceal the fact, that on reading the resolution at first in the provisional Agenda, I felt rather uneasy to note, that an invidious distinction was thus again sought to be drawn quite unnecessarily, among the Members of one and the same Chamber. I also then thought that this privilege could have been equally and easily made available for all the constituents of the Chamber, including the Ruling Princes and Chiefs who cannot be the Members of the Chamber in their own right, but are entitled to send Representatives on their behalf, as in my opinion there was not the least fear of the smaller Princes and Chiefs taking undue advantage of the valued privilege, for their indents would have ordinarily been in proportion to their resources, as they would have naturally cut their coats according to their cloth.

Moreover, it particularly struck me, that it would have been more in consonance with the spirit of the constitution of the Chamber, if only the resolutions on such subjects as concern the interest of all its constituents alike would, as far as practicable, come before it for consideration and approval. But, Your Highnesses, on a calm consideration of the whole question in all its aspects, I made up my mind to lend my support to the motion as it was, without striking a discordant note by coming in the way of the advancement of some of us, for thereby the original privilege was anyhow extended to 98 of my brothers. This was not a small gain, although I would have been further satisfied, if the scope of the privilege could have been still more widened to 128 more Members of our Order who send their Representatives to this House. However, I am prepared for the present to rely upon the mysterious working of time, coupled with the generous good sense of our big brothers, which, I am quite confident, with the sympathetic and liberal attitude of Your Excellency's Government, will ultimately prevail upon them especially in consideration of the friendly and self-sacrificing spirit of the lesser Princes, and they would themselves come forward in due course to propose and support the still further extension of the privilege contained in the resolution under discussion.

With these few remarks I support the motion of His Highness of Alwar, and request all other Representative Members to ungrudgingly do the same.

His Highness the Maharaja of Rajpipla: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses, it gives me great pleasure to support the present resolution.

His Highness of Alwar has already dealt with the subject in full detail, and I do not wish to take up Your Excellency's and the Chamber's time unnecessarily, and would restrict myself to only one or two points, which I beg to put forward for Your Excellency's kind consideration.

The exemption at present enjoyed by the Ruling Princes is most inadequate, and if this diplomatic courtesy is extended in the manner proposed by the present resolution, it would go a great way to increase the prestige of the Princes, which I feel grateful to say, the British Government has always been ready and eager to uphold.

It must be admitted that a certain amount of money earned by the people of a country should go towards the Central Exchequer, to be spent in turn, for the benefit of the people and the country. But in the present case, the money that is required to be paid in the shape of duty, is neither earned in British India, nor is it spent for the benefit of those who paid it.

Then again in view of the facts that some of Their Highnesses already enjoy freedom from the payment of the duty, and that several of them have facilities through their own ports, which they have the good fortune to possess, the loss of revenue is not likely to be at all serious or heavy. For these reasons neither Government nor people will have, either on principle, or on grounds of actual loss, any reason for complaint.

Ruling Princes while travelling in England and other countries enjoy through the courtesy of India and Foreign Offices full facilities in this respect, even in most democratic places and it is but fair that they should enjoy complete freedom within this country.

I am sure with Your Excellency's and your Government's kind support, the Ruling Princes who are Members of the Chamber in their own right, will be extended this privilege as proposed by the present resolution.

His Excellency the Viceroy: Your Highnesses, I feel that it would be useless to look round for an opponent

of this resolution, and I assume that it is carried by this Chamber. Let me take the opportunity of saying that perhaps I am rather more deeply interested in this matter from a financial point of view as head of the Government. I have listened with the greatest interest to the speeches on this subject, and I should like to add, particularly to the speeches from those who have not often before given us that satisfaction. I am sure that all Your Highnesses like to see the interest taken in these proceedings by the Princes generally and especially by some of the younger ones amongst your Order continued. Nothing gives me greater satisfaction than to see so many Princes taking part in the debate, and I was deeply interested to learn from the observations that the subject had occasioned thought and reflection. I assume, therefore, that I may take it that this resolution is carried.

One striking note in it throughout is the pressure upon Your Highnesses by the march of reason which apparently has the effect of showing that when once you have started on the road of giving exemption to a preferential few you must pursue it to the extent of giving it to all who are Members of this Chamber. This is, no doubt, a most excellent argument from the point of view of logic but it carries with it certain other implications, and these have been given expression to by His Highness the Chancellor and also by other speakers. It is clear that when once this exemption has been given it cannot stop at Your Highnesses' Chamber. Requests may then be made that it should be extended further to some who are not Members of this Chamber, and, as was eloquently put, I think, by His Highness the Chancellor, in the case of some States there would be more necessity for such action at any rate from the financial point of view of giving exemption. I do not desire to pursue the subject at this moment. All that it is necessary for me to say is that, anxious as I am to fall in, so far as we can as a Government, with the views of the Chamber there are considerations which, you will forgive my saying, are not as present to your minds as they will be to ours as a Government, which also must form the subject of consideration before we can accept the views put before us, but I can assure you that the matter will receive the most careful consideration.

Agendum No. 4.

Report of the Standing Committee regarding dealings between Indian States and Capitalists and financial agents.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner: I beg to present the report of the Standing Committee regarding capitalists for Your Highnesses' general acceptance.

His Highness the Maharaja of Porbandar: I beg to second the motion.

His Excellency the Viceroy: I take it that the report of the Standing Committee has met with the general approval of the Chamber.

Agendum No. 11.

Resolution by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar regarding the question of giving publicity to the proceedings of the Chamber.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses, the basis of the resolution which I am to move to-day lies in the discussion which took place in our Standing Committee on the question whether publicity should be given to the proceedings of the Chamber of Princes or its discussions. It was decided that a recommendation should be laid before the Chamber to the effect that, if the mover and the seconder of any resolution appearing on the agenda propose and the Chamber agrees, that publicity should be given to the discussion on that resolution, the galleries of the Chamber may be thrown open to the public and the proceedings of the Chamber may be published. Twenty-four hours' notice should be required of the intention of any Member of the Chamber to propose that publicity should be given to any discussion. It is on this general agreement, from which His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior has expressed dissent, that the resolution which I am going to move to-day is based. The resolution is as follows:—

“That the Narendra Mandal recommends to His Excellency the President that the following addition be made before rule 21 of the Rules for the Conduct of Business in the Chamber of Princes.”

Rule 21 of the Rules for the Conduct of Business of the Chamber runs as follows:—

“The proceedings of the Chamber may, if the President so directs, be held in camera. Any Member or Representative Member may move the President at a meeting of the Chamber for a direction to this effect.”

As Your Highnesses will see, this rule is intended to make the proceedings of the Chamber even more confidential or private than they are at present when the galleries are thrown open by special tickets. My proposed addition comes before Rule 21 and it will run as follows:—

“Ordinarily the proceedings of the Chamber will not be held in public and admission to the gallery will be by special arrangement (as it is at present). But on the motion of any Member or Representative Member who desires to move a resolution, the Chamber may recommend to the President that the public may be admitted to the gallery during the discussion of such a resolution and that the proceedings be published. Twenty-four hours' notice of any such motion should be given either orally in the Chamber or by letter to the Secretary of the Chamber.”

Your Highnesses, this question of publicity of some of our proceedings on the distinct understanding that the Chamber and its President should give their approval to such publicity, has been often before our minds when questions of importance that go outside the precincts of this hall have come before us for consideration. Your Highnesses will remember that His Excellency the President himself, when we were discussing the Press Act applicable to British India for the protection of Indian Princes and their States and when we gave vent to our opinions and the motives that guided us in asking that such an Act should be brought into effect, said that it was a great pity that they could not be broadcasted outside this hall as people then would realise whether the motives that guided us were based on any fear or egotism or desire for personal protection merely, or whether they were based on some higher principles which were given expression to in that debate. Other occasions too arise. For instance, we see notices being published in the papers

about Mr. Montagu's lamentable death. Big organisations, the Legislatures, and so forth give expression to their sentiments on the death of a great statesman who assisted them and us in our forward advance. While those expressions come before the public, those that are made with equal sincerity and with equal force in the Chamber of Princes lie dormant in its book of Proceedings because they are not allowed to be published. Again, there are resolutions passed of loyalty to the Crown, of congratulations to the Royal House and so forth, which I believe could do no possible harm to the Chamber if they were published, but on the other hand, I am convinced, would be of considerable benefit to the Chamber and its Order if the world outside knew what was being said and done. Apart from this, there are certain important subjects which come up before us which, though they are to be kept in secrecy, it is always difficult to do so when we have Members to the extent of 108 in their own right and 12 by representation. It is a question of honour which the people who attend the galleries as well as the Chamber itself are intended to keep. But on the question whether it would be in the interests of the Chamber and of our Order to put forward our views, carefully considered and carefully thought out, before the public, I believe that it would not do any injury or damage to us, but would be of considerable benefit to our Order as well as to the Chamber. While I do admit that we have not arrived at that stage in respect of powers of oratory or of debate where we can throw open the galleries to the public and the press during our discussions, I believe that where the Chamber and its President decide that the Proceedings may be made public we can come with very carefully prepared statements of which we need not be afraid of publication. It is for these reasons that I propose this resolution which has been considered in our Committee and has the approval of its majority.

I fully realise the difficulties that lie before us. One such that I foresee is that during the course of the debate certain questions may arise on which we may not be prepared even with our set speeches to make statements, and in that case we should have either to be silent and not give expression to our views or

to take the chance of giving expression to them and standing the brunt of their publicity. But it is a thing that administrators and statesmen must face as we progress in the march of administration and government of our States as well as in assisting each other in this hall with regard to questions of general importance. I believe that even if in one or two instances the difficulties that I have mentioned do arise, in the end it would be to the benefit of our Order. With these very few words I beg to move the resolution.

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala: I beg to second the resolution.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses, it will be in the general recollections of this House that I was the first to moot this point which now forms the subject of the resolution before Your Highnesses, in my speech in February 1923, when a resolution was moved expressing our grateful thanks to His Excellency the Viceroy on the passing of the Indian Princes Protection Bill. I will not quote all that I said on that occasion, nor the reasons for which I urged that there was a need of publicity in view of the suspicion that existed in regard to our deliberations, and specially in view of the attacks in articles on the subject appearing in the British Indian Press which were not confined to the extremist press but also included papers that were friendly to the States.

Those were my views then and those are my views now; and so far as every one of my own acts and utterances is concerned, as is no doubt also the case with many of Your Highnesses, I would not only be prepared but would personally welcome the fullest publicity to what I say and do.

At the same time it is as well that Your Highnesses should bear in mind another aspect of the question. I do not wish to be misunderstood as in any way opposing this motion or wanting to oppose the proposal for publication, in some form or another, of our proceedings, which it will be clear from what I have said I am in favour of. But if we are going to publish the entire proceedings, or even on given subjects after receiving the approval of His Excellency the President and of this House, I do not wish Your Highnesses to be under any delusion as to some of

the difficulties that you may have to face. Prominent amongst these will be the criticism of Your Highnesses' speeches and acts and even individual attacks in the press. In public life in Britain, prominent statesmen like Your Excellency have had the training of criticism and attack both within the Chambers and without and are therefore not so sensitive to them as we, or some of us who are only beginning public life in this country. It is because I feel that Your Highnesses should have this aspect of the question placed before you that I have ventured to detain you at some length. I was not present when the Committee took up this question, and whilst I have not the least doubt that all the details and pros and cons of the matter were fully taken into consideration by Their Highnesses of the Committee, without which they would not have come to the decision that they did come to last August. Perhaps it is due to my lack of knowledge of the discussions and details, but I am rather inclined to the view that the procedure proposed by the Committee might in some respects prove somewhat cumbersome and even difficult to work. I do not in any way oppose this motion or move any amendment to it, but there is certainly one point which I wish to emphasise. So long as provision can be made for the publication of even some of our proceedings in some form or other and so long as we tackle the question in earnest I shall be satisfied.

It is very desirable that we should keep before us the two issues which are in my opinion involved in this question and which I submit should not be confused:—

- (1) The publication of the entire or a particular portion of the proceedings of the Chamber, either by the proceedings being handed over to the public and to the press, or by means of resumes, extracts or official communiqués, as was done at the time when we first began these sittings in the shape of a Conference of Princes, and
- (2) Throwing open to the public, including the press, the galleries of the Chamber.

To my mind the former is the more important point, and I am still inclined to think that, except for

exceptional reasons, it might be in the interest of the Princes, where possible, to make public either the entire contents of the proceedings relating to all subjects except those which we might wish to treat as confidential or to discuss in camera, or we might at least give to the press, as I have just stated, a resume or summary together, if we like, with important extracts from our resolutions and speeches and also from His Excellency's Inaugural Address and the Princes' reply. I do not wish to hang up the disposal of this matter if it is the desire of His Highness the mover and Your Highnesses to proceed with it, but in any case I hope that the question of a resume or an extract from the proceedings, or rather a statement of the work done, as outlined above, will also be considered by the Standing Committee.

His Highness the Raja of Sitamau: Your Excellency and Your Highnesses, I rise to support the resolution, so eloquently and ably moved by His Highness of Alwar. The want of publicity of the proceedings of Narendra Mandal has given rise to a feeling of doubt and distrust, in the minds of the politicians in British India. Publicity of the proceedings will certainly result in their being scrupulously scrutinised, and mercilessly criticised at times by the public in British India, but then I feel that the time has come when we must all be prepared to face any honest and healthy criticism. The one supreme advantage, however, that we shall certainly derive therefrom, will be, to dispel, once and for all, any doubt that they in British India might have so long entertained. I hope Your Highnesses will see eye to eye with me in this and lend countenance to the resolution of His Highness of Alwar.

The Nawab of Loharu: Your Excellency and Your Highnesses, we have heard, and heard with the greatest interest indeed, the speeches from Their Highnesses the mover of the Resolution as well as a few other brother Princes. Well, I do not entirely disagree with the spirit of the Resolution. To my mind, there appears to be a practical difficulty in our way if the Resolution as originally worded is adopted, although a safeguard has been provided for in it by the mover. Reasons no doubt there are in favour of publicity being given to the proceedings of the Chamber, I feel it my duty, however, to show to Your Highnesses in as few words as I can the other

aspect of the question as well. When Your Highnesses have heard the brief remarks which I have to make on the subject, I feel sure you will realize that there is a justification in my proposing the amendment that you will hear at the close of my remarks. The following are some of the reasons against publicity being given to the details of certain proceedings of the Chamber. Firstly, remarks by one or more Princes during a discussion on a Resolution the proceedings of which are meant to be published in the Press may be the subject of a strong criticism by other Princes followed by a sharp exchange of words. This in the ordinary course of events may mean nothing in our debating hall itself, but such discussions, if published in the papers, may tend to create an undesirable impression in the minds of the subjects of the Princes concerned while all of us are naturally anxious to avoid such an incident. Secondly, there may be a Resolution of common interest to British India and the Indian States the mover of which may desire publicity being given to the entire discussion of the subject. The views of Ruling Princes are often diametrically opposed to those of the British Indian people.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner: No, no!

The Nawab of Loharu: Well, it sometimes happens, I have said 'often', Your Highness. And, as we know, there exists a certain section of the Press in British India which makes it its business not only to criticize but unfairly to criticize even the just actions of the British Government; and it would then take the opportunity in certain matters to criticise the remarks made by the Princes in such a form as to create a bad feeling against the Princes not only in the minds of the British Indian people but also disaffection in the minds of their own subjects. It can be said that we are adequately protected by the benign Government against the attacks of the Press, yet at the same time it will be admitted that British Indian Press knows its own way of achieving its object, and at the same time avoiding the risk of being subjected to legal proceedings. Thirdly, a particular Resolution regarding a question of the *izzat* or dignity of our Order may be moved by a Prince who desires to have the proceedings connected therewith to be published, but certain Princes taking part in the discussion may be strongly opposed

to that procedure, and therefore the following is the amendment that I humbly beg to propose to the Resolution:—'That a Prince may have a Resolution moved by him or his speech on the same and the result of the discussions, if he so desires, published, but not the details of the discussion unless all those taking part in it have consented to it.'

The Nawab of Banganapalle: Your Excellency and Your Highnesses, I have only to say a few words in supporting this resolution. The sittings of the Chamber, strictly speaking, are not closed to the public, and the practice followed here with regard to the admission of visitors does not differ much from that of other Chambers. If great care is taken in issuing tickets and in their perusal at the entrance, it is due more to the unique and important position, which Your Highnesses and His Excellency hold than to any secrecy of the proceedings of this Chamber. When we discuss no secrets ordinarily in our Chamber, we cannot fear as to their being leaked out, when its deliberations are thrown out to the public.

With regard to the proceedings of this Chamber it seems that though the printed proceedings are not available to the general public, yet they are not strictly confined in their circulation to the Members of this Chamber. There will not be great difficulty, I understand, for influential outsiders to gain access to the Chamber, and obtain its proceedings at least temporarily without our knowledge. This being the case, I should think that there can be no objection in supporting this resolution which desires to invite the public to watch our deliberations and go through the proceedings of the Chamber in certain cases, with the approval and knowledge of its Members. The public here referred to will mean of course influential public men, who, with or without our knowledge, can have an easy access to the galleries of this Chamber, if they so desire. The resolution as far as I can see will not dispense altogether with the use of visitors' cards, in issuing which sufficient care will be administered. The known presence of the influential public will bring in a good deal of moderation and beneficent foresightedness in our deliberations which will be useful to this Chamber, and will drive out misconceptions that exist in the minds of the public about us and our dignified Chamber.

His Excellency the Viceroy: Before Your Highnesses come to a conclusion, there are some considerations which I desire to bring to the notice of Your Highnesses. I wish I could feel quite satisfied that Your Highnesses have before you and present to your minds all the implications involved in the Resolution, restricted as it is, which has been proposed by His Highness of Alwar; and it is because I feel that the step you are about to take is a far more important one than perhaps may appear merely from the very limited terms of the Resolution that I want to suggest certain points for reflection to Your Highnesses before you come to your conclusions. You will bear in mind also that the rules for the conduct of business of the Chamber which we call the Rules of Business are to be made by the Viceroy in consultation with the Chamber and can be altered or added to from time to time. The step which you are about to take, if you adopt it, means that this Chamber has definitely come to a conclusion with regard to publicity, and it then only remains for me to say whether I will alter the rules in accordance with the views of the Chamber. Now I need scarcely say to Your Highnesses that on any subject, especially relating to the rules of business of your Chamber, I should be immensely influenced by the views of Your Highnesses, spoken after deliberation in your Chamber, and therefore I want you to realize that the responsibility of this decision is a responsibility which very largely rests with Your Highnesses; and I may add that in my view, although this is only an opinion and is not a ruling of course, when you have once put it upon the paper as part of your rules of business that there shall be publicity if a vote is carried on a particular motion on a particular occasion, you will never be able to stop complete publicity. Now I am not against complete publicity. I have spent my life in publicity. As His Highness of Bikaner has so rightly said, those of us who are used to public life in England have to submit to criticism sometimes fair, sometimes unfair, sometimes unwillingly and unintentionally unfair, and I regret to say sometimes deliberately unfair. But whatever, we have to submit to it, we know it is part of our lives, and it does not cause us anxious nights. But I beg you to remember that we in England exist under a system under which we

are elected by the people and, therefore, all our thoughts must be submitted to criticism. Publicity is essential when there is election. I need not pause to dwell upon the difference between the position of an elected Member of Parliament and consequently of a Minister and that of Your Highnesses who by right of heritage succeed to very great trust and responsibility. I was very much impressed myself during the debate by the implications which are involved and which I would like to put to you. I would ask you to bear in mind, and when I make these observations, please remember that I understand publicity and having either enjoyed it or suffered from it in India, I know exactly what it means—that before you give your votes, you must understand what is involved. My observations are not directed against the Resolution which is proposed but are made merely to ensure that there should be consideration of it; and I suggest to you further consideration than perhaps has yet been given, not because the Standing Committee has not given a thought to it—I have no doubt about that—but because all the implications are so much more serious I think than is perhaps realized. For these reasons I say to each of Your Highnesses who is now about to give a vote, 'are you quite sure that you realise the extent to which you are committing yourself by the particular vote that each individual Member of this important Chamber is about to give now?' The other suggestion to be considered—if you think this course to be right but that is entirely for yourselves—is the further examination of this question by a Committee either by co-opting or by forming another Committee outside the Standing Committee, which is really so serious to this Chamber I should never have intervened in this debate if it were not that I have at heart the continued success of this Chamber of Princes. I could of course let the debate proceed, let the Resolution be passed, and then say as Viceroy, 'well, if the Princes of India are in favour of this limited publicity—it must be borne in mind that His Highness of Alwar is proposing not general publicity but limited publicity—if they are in favour of it, why should I, who am always in favour of publicity, intervene?' Let me explain that my only reason is that I am anxious to see this Chamber succeed and in this connection permit me to make a purely

personal observation to Your Highnesses. The difficulty caused to me in the matter of my own personal time by presiding here every day as I do during the course of your debates is far greater than may be realized, especially when I have to absent myself now from the headquarters of Government for some weeks, and the reason why I persist in doing it and strive to let nothing interfere with it is because I am so anxious to see this Chamber successful, to continue its onward progress and to make certain of its future success. And may I add also that one of the special reasons that has prompted me in making this personal observation is this. During the discussions which have taken place this morning and the debate in this session Members of Your Highnesses' Chamber have shown a very keen interest by taking part in the debate, by making your speeches and by thinking about matters before they come up in the Chamber, and that gives a promise for the success of the Chamber. Now, to return to the publicity point, His Highness of Alwar has told us and rightly that he is not in favour of this motion of publicity, speaking generally, but only of a very limited form of publicity and dependent upon what the Chamber itself may agree to.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar: And may I say, Your Excellency, on the consent of the President.

His Excellency the Viceroy: I am not inclined myself to place too much reliance upon the consent of the President, because, as I have said before, if in a particular debate Your Highnesses pass a Resolution in favour of publication, I as one who passes every day of his life in publicity, would certainly not oppose it; and incidentally, I may point out I am myself criticized, and in this connection I should be criticized by the Press at this moment but for the fact that there is no publicity of the Proceedings of this Chamber; I always read criticisms of myself: the more bitter they are the more reason I find for looking into them carefully and seeing so far as I am able, to judge, whether there is any foundation for them or not, and I am watching this kind of criticism during the last two days. Now let me point out, and particularly to His Highness of Alwar and those of Your Highnesses who are supporting this Resolution, the special difficulties I see. We have dealt just now with

a subject in which there was a singular unanimity among Your Highnesses in favour of recommending to the Viceroy that there should be exemption from the payment of customs duty on articles which are imported for the personal use of Your Highnesses, and it was pointed out by His Highness the Chancellor and by other speakers that the march of logic necessarily involves that when it had been given under certain conditions for 20 or 21 years, there could be no distinction drawn and that it should be extended to other Members of this Chamber; and then it was pointed out by His Highness of Bikaner, and quite rightly if I may say so, that the logic does not stop there; you must go further and give it to others. Now that is exactly the same process of reasoning which applies in this case, and you run the risk that you would often be criticized and suspected particularly when on some subject information may leak out and be discussed. Now that is one of the difficulties that I see. It deserves consideration. To whatever conclusions Your Highnesses adopt you may take it from me that I shall give the most favourable consideration. But now let me put to you another aspect of the matter which will affect my successors far more than it will affect me; and that is, what do you propose, if I may put it in this form for the purpose of consideration, what have Your Highnesses in mind, regarding the opening address of the Viceroy when presiding? The Viceroy presides merely because he is the Head in this country of the Government of India and because he is the representative of the King-Emperor. The Viceroy in regard to every action of his is subjected to criticism, is exposed to it, and he has to submit to it. Now can you conceive that publicity could be given to part of your Proceedings in this Chamber by a Resolution of one of Your Highnesses which would not apply to the address which the Viceroy would have delivered? It is not because I am attaching such particular importance to the words of the Viceroy—as I say, his life is passed in public—but because it is very difficult for you to refrain, if there is to be publicity, from having his observations made public. I am certainly not going to say one word against publishing what the Viceroy might say when he presides in your Chamber, but that involves also considerations which must be present in his mind when he is addressing you,

and above all it must affect your minds when you come to consider the observations that may be made during the course of the debate. I do not want you to come to any conclusion now, I only point out those two things because they do seem to me to be so vital to the point of showing that there is some danger—I will not put it higher than if you merely accept the Resolution as it stands, limited and restricted as it undoubtedly is intended to be and is, that you will be committing yourself perhaps further than you intend. It is entirely a matter for Your Highnesses to decide whether you think that the subject merits further consideration than it already has had because of the enormous importance of the subject in relation to the existence and continued existence and success of this Chamber.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses, I began by following His Highness the Chancellor, very carefully all along as he went cautious lest he might treat the subject somewhere contrary to the rules of business, but being a Prince Chancellor His Highness has steered clear of the pitfalls. His Highness has said that he did not wish to oppose the Resolution nor did he desire to move any amendment, and merely suggested that the question might be further considered whether extracts and resumes of certain Proceedings that had taken place might not be a better substitute for the whole of the proceedings being sent for publication. In certain matters I entirely agree with His Highness, though in others I should suggest and I feel sure that others will agree, that the complete Proceedings might be published. The Nawab of Loharu has not been quite as careful in suggesting an amendment to my resolution for he has tripped himself over the rules of business which lay down that 24 hours' notice shall be given before any amendment can be moved and this notice has not been issued. His Excellency the President has given us his own interesting views on my Resolution. I am grateful to His Excellency for his advice. I have been surprised a little bit; but I have been more pleased than I have been surprised. I have been surprised because they come out of the mouth of a liberal statesman who has stood the test and the brunt of publicity most of his life. But they came out of his mouth as a liberal statesman

who presides over our Chamber and he spoke those words because he felt sincerely that what he was uttering was entirely in the interests of our Order and of its future progress and advancement. I was hoping that, in spite of the powers that the President possesses of suspending the rules of business and thus to be in a position to suggest amendments His Excellency was going to propose a definite solution of the problem without following this constitutional course; but His Excellency has himself said that he did not desire to put forward any definite proposition. The remarks that His Excellency was good enough to make are such that no one can pay to them anything but very sincere attention. Indeed, having regard to all the reasons and the valuable opinions that have been placed before the Chamber and Your Highnesses by His Excellency, I feel that really no harm will be done and much good might accrue by further and more detailed consideration of this question now before Your Highnesses. Therefore, although according to the rules of business I am not empowered to suggest that I should withdraw my resolution and move in its place a suggestion that the resolution may be given over to the Standing Committee, yet, if His Excellency the President is prepared to suspend the rules of business, I shall gladly withdraw my resolution and will ask that it may be placed before the Standing Committee, who may co-opt with them such members as His Excellency the President might wish to suggest.

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala: I beg to second the motion.

His Excellency the Viceroy: If I may say so, His Highness of Alwar has certainly adopted what seems to me to be the best course in the interests of the Chamber. Therefore, I assume, unless any of Your Highnesses has any opposition to raise against it, that this is the view that would be adopted and that in consequence the motion will be withdrawn and that the Resolution will be substituted which is now carried to the effect that the matter be referred for the consideration of the Standing Committee and that liberty be given to the Standing Committee to co-opt more Members for the consideration of this particular question.

This item concludes our business for the moment except one special subject. But before taking it up I call upon

His Highness of Alwar to move a resolution which does not appear on the Agenda.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar: It is my very pleasant duty to rise to retaliate against my brother, His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, and I do so in order to take advantage of this opportunity in place of the one that has been snatched away from our hands—of moving a vote of thanks to His Highness after he had presented his report on the League of Nations. That I rise instead to give our thanks and gratitude to His Highness for his work during the past several years as Chancellor of our Chamber. Now that the election of the new Chancellor is before us, I feel that it is only but natural and right. We all know—and it is indeed superfluous to enter into a large array of mere conventional or complimentary words—the vigorous interest His Highness has taken and will continue to take in the interests of our Order in all matters that concern not only the Chamber but all the Indian States. His Highness has not found, as we know ourselves, this high and distinguished position in which we placed him a bed of roses or a place completely free from all difficulties. That is one particular reason which has led me to speak certain words in which, I hope, I carry Your Highnesses with me. In discharging the onerous duties of the Chancellor His Highness had to face good many difficulties where mountains had to be climbed and battles had to be fought and which he did at the risk of personal unpopularity and also at the risk of his personal position being affected in the estimation of his friends. Nevertheless he has kept that one point of view before him and he has worked, as I understand it, with that sole object in view, namely, the interests of the Order of the Princes together with the interests of the Empire. I rather fancy myself as not being gifted with the power of either speaking any very conventional phrases or indulging in a plethora of words that are uttered merely to win the outward friendship or approbation of others. But I assure you it is as difficult sometimes to speak what one feels to be the truth at the risk of being understood to have indulged in flattery as it is to speak the truth when it is sometimes, bitter.

In spite of all this however it is due to us all to express a vote of our

grateful thanks to His Highness the Chancellor for having worked in our cause, for having fought our battles and for having—I distinctly maintain—brought to a stage of advancement the position of our Chamber and of our Order since he has held this distinguished office. The new election is very soon to come about. When such a contingency occurs in democratic countries there is a general upheaval. The whole country seems to indulge in turning somersaults. Then out of this great turmoil comes a party that has the majority of votes and from it emerge Prime Minister and Ministers. It seems a very tame affair indeed in comparison, when our election comes on, that only one speaker should rise and that also for the pleasant task of expressing our heart-felt and genuine thanks to one who has served us and who has worked for us not as an individual in his own interests but as one in the interests of us all. His Highness, I know, is like many of us, standing for the Chancellorship of this year and, without desiring to influence Your Highnesses' minds by any arguments or speeches, I for one personally and sincerely hope that, if nothing else can be done to recognise the services that His Highness has performed for our Order, that His Highness will be re-elected as the Chancellor this year also. The situation might become different next year; for I feel that we may not like to re-elect His Highness, if we felt that we would give by our own election, the monopoly of this office to one of our own Order. Therefore capable as we know His Highness is to run this office and difficult as it is, without making any disparaging remarks, to find another of our Order who can occupy this important position equally well, it will then be time to consider whether we should substitute for His Highness at least for one year another Member of our Chamber who may perhaps be less capable than His Highness but nevertheless one who may carry out the duties equally ardently and well. I have made these remarks merely with a view to ask Your Highnesses to join with me in a vote of very grateful and sincere thanks to His Highness, the present Chancellor.

The Nawab of Loharu: I beg to second the motion.

His Excellency the Viceroy: As I expected, the Resolution has been carried with acclamation.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses, I will not make a long speech for fear of its being considered an election speech, but I should be more than human if I did not feel deeply touched by the kind words of His Highness and the vote of thanks so generously moved and so generously received. Let me only add one thing. Much as I appreciate Your Highnesses' confidence and the honour which you do me by electing me as Chancellor, I am standing this time against my own personal inclinations and at the strong wish expressed by my brother Princes and friends and also in view of many urgent matters which are before Your Highnesses and His Excellency the Viceroy. My one anxiety, however, without in any way appearing ungracious or ungrateful, is to beg of you to relieve me from this work as soon as you can after this year or whenever you feel inclined to do so, as it is really a very great strain upon me and I think it is other people's duty also to undertake this work.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar: Your Excellency, I only want to make one personal remark if I may and that is that Your Highnesses' votes may be given to the person whom you think most deserving. And if Your Highnesses

will permit me to say so, I would not like to stand for this office this year so that Your Highnesses' votes may be directed towards the Chancellor of *your* choice and selection.

Agendum No. 17.

Election of the Chancellor.

The election of the 'Chancellor was then proceeded with and the result of the ballot was as follows:—

1. His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner . . . 27 votes.
2. His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala . . . 10 votes.
3. His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar . . . 1 vote.
4. His Highness the Raja of Jhabua . . . 1 vote.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner was, therefore, declared duly elected. This concluded the proceedings of the day.

The Chamber of Princes then adjourned till Friday, the 21st November 1924, at 11 A.M.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIFTH DAY.

November 21st, 1924.

The following Ruling Princes and Chiefs were present :—

Kashmir.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir.

Madras (Madras States).

The Nawab of Banganapalle.

Bombay (including States of Western India).

The Pant Sachiv of Bhor.
His Highness the Maharaja of Dhurangadhra.
The Raja of Jawahar.
The Thakur of Kadana.
His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur.
The Thakur Sahib of Limbdi.
The Raja of Mudhol.

The Thakur Sahib of Palitana.
His Highness the Maharaja of Porbandar.
His Highness the Maharaja of Rajpipla.
The Chief of Sangli.
The Thakur Sahib of Wadhwan.
His Highness the Raja Saheb of Wankaner.

Punjab (including Punjab States).

The Raja of Baghat.
His Highness the Nawab of Bahawalpur.
The Raja of Kalsia.
His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala.
The Nawab of Loharu.

His Highness the Nawab of Malerkotla.
His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.
His Highness the Maharaja of Sirmur.
His Highness the Raja of Suket.

Bihar and Orissa.

The Maharaja of onpur.

The Raja of Talcher.

Central India.

His Highness the Nawab of Baoni.
His Highness the Raja of Jhabua.
His Highness the Maharaja of Orchha.
His Highness the Maharaja of Panna.

His Highness the Maharaja of Rewa.
His Highness the Raja of Sailana.
His Highness the Raja of Sitamau.

Gwalior.

His Highness the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior.

Rajputana.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar.
His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner.
His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur.

His Highness the Maharawal of Jaisalmer.
His Highness the Maharaja of Jodhpur.
His Highness the Maharao of Kotah.

Sikkim.

His Highness the Maharaja of Sikkim.

Agendum No. 2 (A).

Statement by His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner regarding his work at the Assembly of the League of Nations in 1924.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses, it is my privilege to-day to lay before you a brief account of the work of the Indian Delegation at the Fifth Assembly of the League of Nations, which was held at Geneva from the 1st September to the 1st October 1924, and of the part I was personally able to take therein, as a member of the Indian Delegation. and as, in a special sense, one who had the honour to be the Representative of Your Highnesses' Order. I will try to be as short as possible, but I trust I shall not unduly encroach on your time if I indicate the salient events in this important session of the League.

The Fifth Assembly was in many respects a critical one in the history of the League. A year ago those who believed in the League as the one instrument which can preserve the world from the horrors of war were in an anxious position. It does not profit us to mince matters; it is the blunt fact that the action of Italy in bombarding and occupying Corfu, and refusing to recognise the authority of the League, gave its prestige a severe shock. It is illustrative of the mutability of human affairs that the Assembly following this anxious session should have been the most impressive in the history of the League. It was attended by the Prime Ministers of Great Britain and France in person. Italy sent three of her most distinguished statesmen, Signori Salandra, Schanzer and Scioloja. The Foreign Ministers of many other European States were present and since the Genoa Conference there had been no such representative gathering of European statesmen. Indeed, I might go further and say it was the most impressive conclave for the single purpose of ensuring peace which has ever assembled.

This very circumstance brought a certain danger in its train. The League was established "to secure international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war." Yet the grim fact remained that five years after the termination of the Great War, and four years after the

signing of the Covenant, the armed forces of Europe were stronger than before the War. If this great Assembly had separated without accomplishing anything definite towards the limitation of armaments, then the status of the League as an organisation for peace would have been grievously impaired in the eyes of the States who are members and of those whose adherence it is hoped to secure.

May I, in a sentence or two, indicate the circumstances which led up to the actual position with which the Fifth Assembly was confronted in regard to this question, which dominated all its discussions? Article VIII of the Covenant lays down "that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety". The Third Assembly of the League issued instructions for the preparation of a draft treaty to show how the principle of the limitation of armaments could be linked with guarantees which would ensure to all States the security on which they rightly insist. The issue of this mandate was what is called The Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance, which was circulated to the Governments who are members of the League, whose replies were before the Fifth Assembly when it met. The gist of this draft Treaty was that in return for the limitation of armaments, the States members of the League should guarantee to come to the assistance of any State attacked, not only by applying economic sanctions against the aggressor State, but by the employment of their armed forces against it under the direction of the Council of the League. The replies of the Governments to the draft Treaty were so critical, in some cases so hostile, that it was virtually dead when the Assembly met. In particular the British Government repudiated the doctrine which it adumbrated, and on the ground that the protection offered was so illusory that no State could reduce its armaments in reliance on it, whilst if the obligations which it imposed were scrupulously carried out they would involve an increase rather than a diminution of armaments, they definitely rejected the scheme.

The Fifth Assembly had therefore to take up the work afresh, and in the first week of the session the broad outlines of this new path were traced. In a speech of great earnestness, marked by loftiness of thought, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, who was then Prime Minister

of Great Britain, laid down the British position. He said they did not believe that military alliances would bring security; they would not put their signature to any indefinite document. They believed that only arbitration would bring peace; he therefore urged the Assembly to define more clearly the arbitration clauses in the Statutes, and to elaborate those provisions in the Covenant which deal with arbitration and its sequelæ. M. Herriot, Prime Minister of France, who followed, entirely associated himself with the British acceptance of the principle of arbitration, but urged that whilst it was essential it was not sufficient. It must be linked with security and then with disarmament. "We in France regard these three terms—arbitration, security, disarmament—as inseparable; and these three words would be but empty abstractions did they not stand for living realities created by our common will". I was invited to state the position of India during the general discussion, and whilst expressing our entire concurrence with the letter of the Prime Minister on the subject of the proposed Treaty of Mutual Assistance, and with his powerful advocacy of the principle of arbitration, I indicated the special considerations arising from the geographical position of India, which must govern our attitude towards any proposal for the reduction of our armaments. These special difficulties are inherent in the Frontier problem, and cannot in our time be mitigated by the use of economic sanctions or by the spread of the principle of arbitration and in the fact that all our neighbours are not members of the League of Nations and are consequently not susceptible to the moral and economic pressure which the League may be in a position to exercise and in the further fact that the States in Asia who are Members of the League are so situated geographically that with the best will in the world they are not in a position to give India effective assistance. Subject to the recognition of these conditions, I pledged India whole-heartedly to the acceptance of the principle of arbitration and the limitation of armaments.

Whilst on this subject, I should—as I said in my interview to the "*Times of India*" in Bombay—like to clear up one point. I find from some newspaper cuttings which I have seen, that my speech on the armaments debate has been

criticised in certain quarters in India as if I opposed the reduction of the garrison in India. I did nothing of the sort. No one realises better than I do that those undertaking public missions must be prepared for, and must not resent, any fair and well-informed criticism. But unfortunately, not all the criticism on such occasions is fair or well-informed, and this tendency in a certain portion of our Press has done India a great deal of political harm. Personally, I am not going to touch upon that portion of the criticism which consisted of personal attacks on me. For my conscience is clear and I am content to leave my action to be judged by posterity. I do not complain of what has been honest and fair criticism, for I am well aware that speeches reduced on cables are often unconsciously misleading.

The subject which was being debated in the Assembly of the League of Nations was not specifically that of the number or the reduction of the garrison, or of the military position, in India, but that of the principles which should govern the limitation of armaments in the whole civilized world. A reference to the full text of my speech—of which I append a copy, Appendix A—will make my meaning perfectly clear, and as regards the particular point what I actually said was:

"We are bound to take account of it" (i.e., the serious menace to the security of India contained in the frontier position) "in fixing our standard of military strength at the minimum point which will ensure the safety of India."

I should like to emphasize again and to invite attention to the words "*at the minimum point* which will ensure the safety of India." That is the crux of the whole matter, and my meaning, I think Your Excellency and Your Highnesses will agree, is perfectly clear. On the other hand, I entirely associated myself on behalf of India with the principle of arbitration and the reduction of armaments. If, at the same time, I said that any reduction of armaments in India must be subject to the recognition of the essential conditions which I attempted to sketch in my speech, such as our geographical position, our frontier problems, and the difficulties which we might experience through the fact that not all our neighbours are members of the League of Nations and that they are consequently not susceptible to the moral and economic pressure which the League

may be in a position to exercise, etc., the key-note was *the security of India*—in which the one-third area lying outside British India, namely, the States, is also vitally interested—and I do not think there is a single sensible man in India who, reading the speech as a whole, will differ from that position. Indeed, if I needed further justification I may say that on leaving the tribune I was warmly congratulated by the then British Prime Minister, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald—a devoted lover of peace—on my contribution to the debate and the principle I sketched—that the minimum standard of military strength compatible with security is largely a matter of geography—was adopted by many of the most influential speakers in Committee.

However, to revert to the main topic, the ground having been cleared by these general expositions of policy, the Prime Minister, after full consultation with the members of the Empire Delegations, including the Indian Delegation, agreed with M. Herriot on a line of action to be followed by the League, and this agreement was put in the form of resolutions which were unanimously adopted by the Assembly. These resolutions provided for the summoning of an international conference by the League of Nations at the earliest possible moment. In order to clear the ground for this Conference, the doubtful points in the Covenant and the arbitration statutes were remitted to the Standing Committees for examination and more complete definition.

It is difficult for me to convey to this Chamber any adequate idea of the laborious care with which this work was done. My own activities were on the Third Committee, which was charged with the task of examining the obligations contained in the Covenant of the League in relation to the guarantees of security which a resort to arbitration and a reduction of armaments may require. As I listened to these protracted debates one bitter fact was borne in upon me. Armaments in Europe to-day do not spring from militarism; that was buried fathoms deep in the mud of Flanders. Nor from love of martial glory, for the Eagles were tarnished by the poison gas of Ypres. They are based on a passion for security, especially amongst the peoples who suffered the horrors of invasion during the war. The problem of a reduction of armaments is the problem of giving to the States a

measure of security proportioned to that which they lose by reducing their armaments.

The fruits of these protracted deliberations have already been published, and I will very briefly indicate them here. They are that an aggressor State, that is a State which refuses to submit a dispute to arbitration, shall be regarded as an international outlaw, and all States members of the League shall refuse to have any financial or economic dealings with it. Such a State will be regarded as having no more rights than any common outlaw under our general laws. If further naval, military or air force is required to punish the aggressor, the signatory States may, under the direction of the Council of the League, use their forces for this purpose as they consider necessary. These decisions were embodied in a protocol, which will be submitted to all Governments for their approval, and if the necessary number of States express their approval, an international conference for the limitation of armaments will be held under the auspices of the League of Nations at Geneva at an early date. In the opinion of all competent judges these decisions carry the world a great step forward towards the replacement of the rule of force by the rule of law; the provision of security for States threatened by powerful neighbours; and consequently towards the limitation of armaments. Whilst a great work remains to be done—indeed little more than the first steps have been laboriously cut—all who took part in these discussions felt that a marked advance had been made towards a secured peace, and all that could be done at this stage to exorcise the demon of fear that has hung over Europe since August, 1914, was accomplished.

This was the great work of the Fifth Assembly. I will now, with your permission, sketch the problems of special importance to India which engaged the Delegation. They were India's contribution to the expenses of the League; the opium question; the traffic in and private manufacture of arms; and the position of India in relation to the international health organisations. Our Indian Representatives at Geneva have continuously protested against the scale on which India contributes to the expenses of the League, for we consider that we are unfairly assessed. The Government of India, who feel strongly on

this point, sent our Delegation instructions to press the point even to extreme limits. Under the old arrangement, if any State voted against the scale of contributions, the League automatically reverted to the Postal Union Scale, under which we are more lightly assessed; but on the eve of the Assembly an amendment was ratified which places the power of fixing contributions in the hands of the Assembly. Our Delegation put up a stubborn fight, and as the result I am confident that we shall obtain some relief—not as much as we want, and not as much as we think we are entitled to, but still something. The opium question has now been clarified by the labour of years. There is general appreciation of the practical altruism of the policy pursued by India, and of the sacrifice she has made in order to reduce the traffic in what are called “habit-forming” drugs.

The opium question, with an agreed programme, was to have, and has since, come before a special Commission in November. But I should like in passing to note one rather sinister fact. Whilst India has made these great sacrifices of opium revenue, authoritative evidence is available to show that the production of opium in China last year was 15,000 tons, or ninety per cent. of the world's supply. But against these sacrifices I am confident that we can set a much more rigorous control of far more noxious drugs—I am speaking more particularly of cocaine—which are poisoning and demoralising some of our people.

Apart from the major issue remitted to the Third Committee, my own work in Committee was chiefly directed to the control of the arms traffic and the representation of India on international health organisations.

I stressed in Committee, as I had in the Assembly, the vital interest of India in the arms traffic, from which we have suffered so much, and you will be glad to learn that after wearisome delays an international conference is to be held to deal with this matter, with every prospect of effective agreement.

The other work, which was perhaps the hardest of all, is more obscure. To state it succinctly, the League has established a powerful health organisation of its own. It has done excellent work in preventing the spread of epidemic disease from the ravaged zones of Russia and Eastern Europe. Now, we

in India have a vital concern in the spread of epidemic disease, for we have, as we all know, suffered terribly from imported diseases like plague and influenza. Yet we have no representation on this Health Organisation, nor under its constitution can we obtain it for some years. But after a dogged fight, in which I, as the Indian Representative on that particular Committee, had to make another speech (Appendix B), obtained the loyal support of the British and some of the Dominion Delegations, and secured the passage of a resolution requiring the Health Organisation to communicate its programme as well as a report on its activities to the International Health Office in Paris, on which we are represented; so India will have its say on all the health measures of the League organisation. That is a far more important consideration than may appear at first sight.

For a fuller detail in regard to this matter I must ask for Your Highnesses' patience as I do not wish to take up Your Highnesses' time by any detailed lengthy statements or by blowing my own trumpet, but a perusal of the details and correspondence in connection with the Health Organisation will, I think, be both interesting and amusing and will show that political intrigues which the Indian Delegation had the pleasure of defeating are even to be found in certain ranks of the Secretariat of the League of Nations, though I must acknowledge the assistance and courtesy which I received from Sir Erick-Drummond, the Secretary-General.

I much regret that the shortness of time between my return to India and my having to come on here, with only four days in Bikaner, has prevented my submitting to the Chamber a complete printed report with the necessary appendices. All such details will be found fully explained in the exhaustive official report of the work of the Indian Delegation, of which I am asking the Secretary to the Chamber of Princes to be good enough to obtain sufficient copies for circulation to all Your Highnesses who are Members and Representative Members of the Chamber.

One outstanding feature of the League of Nations is that on it the smallest and the weakest State Member (geographically or politically) has only a single and equal vote with the biggest and the most powerful, which if I may

say so, proves the wisdom and foresight of Your Highnesses, and the correctness of the decision of the British Government, in constituting this unique Chamber of ours in a unique Empire on the basis of "one Member one vote" and exposes the unsoundness of the arguments raised by some persons, particularly in British India, who wish to exploit the feeling which prevails in certain quarters in a few States on the subject of the equality of votes, for wrecking the Chamber by creating internal dissensions which, if one may judge from their writings and utterances, seems to be their ulterior motive and sinister aim.

All the Members of the Indian Delegation were impressed with the high prestige won for India in the councils of the League by the position, authority and dignity of previous Delegations. We inherited a legacy of respect and friendship which made our task much easier. If I may be permitted to say so, we, the Princes of India, are under a debt of gratitude to His Highness the Maharajah Jam Sahib of Nawanganar, for the personal sacrifices he has made to attend three out of the four previous Assemblies, and for the devoted work which he has accomplished in the exacting conditions of the sessions at Geneva. I alluded, though I fear all too inadequately, to this in my remark when moving a vote of thanks to His Highness, on the 17th instant, to which I might here again invite reference.

This year the Indian Delegation was fortunate in having at its head that most popular and beloved of our past Viceroys, our honoured friend, Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, with whom it was a real pleasure to me to be once again officially associated. My other colleague was that eminent jurist and scholar and great gentleman, Sir Muhammad Rafique, of the United Provinces. I was accompanied by Sir Stanley Reed, whose knowledge of Indian affairs and whose tact and courtesy made him a very welcome addition to the Delegation who have every reason to be appreciative of his services as a substitute delegate specially on the second and third Committees. My son and heir was also privileged to act as a substitute delegate for India at the League.

We enjoyed the assistance of an efficient secretariat from the India Office,

and of a Secretary in the person of Mr. P. J. Patrick, to whose ability and untiring zeal I must not fail to pay my tribute and whose services to the Delegation were invaluable. As Your Excellency and Your Highnesses know, the real work of the League is done not in the Assembly, but in Committee. This must inevitably be so in large bodies and in the plenary Sessions of any such body; and this in itself will, I submit, effectively refute one of the arguments advanced against the Chamber of Princes, by the allegation that important work is really done in the Standing Committee. But it must not be lost sight of that the work of the Standing Committee, specially in regard to the revision of political practice, does come back to the Chamber and that it is open to Their Highnesses in the Chamber to approve or disapprove of or to amend or otherwise modify any of the recommendations and proposals of the Standing Committee. It would be absurd to expect the 108 Princes who are Members of the Chamber or something like 40 to 50 of us who are generally present in this august Assembly, to deal with details and technical work which can best be done in the Standing Committee and the Standing Committee alone. And surely this is the case in the Mother of Parliaments, in Great Britain, and indeed also in almost all legislative bodies in India and elsewhere. These large Committees of the League sit so frequently and for such a long time that it is impossible for any Delegate to be an efficient Member of more than two. Whilst, therefore, we were compelled to work in Committee individually, we pursued our tasks in common, with full agreement on all questions of policy and in complete harmony, from the day of our preliminary discussions. It is not for me to indicate the measure of success we achieved; but this perhaps I may be permitted to say, that we had but one object—the dignity, the prestige and the interest of India, her Princes and people; and that so far as in us lay we omitted nothing to ensure it.

It was a matter of pride and privilege and was very encouraging and gratifying to me to be the recipient, whilst in England, shortly after my return from Geneva, of the most kind telegram from His Excellency expressing his generous appreciation of what

little it was in my power to do at the League of Nations, and I also beg to attach a copy of this telegram (Appendix C.).

Although my statement refers to my work at the League of Nations, it is hardly necessary for me to add also that a good portion of the three weeks which I spent in England after my return from Geneva was also devoted, so far as it lay in my power, to render what service I could to our beloved King-Emperor, to the Empire, to my Brother Princes and to British India.

No review of my recent Mission to Europe would be complete without reference to a point to which we naturally attach the very highest importance. Their Imperial Majesties the King-Emperor and the Queen-Empress did not return to London until a few days before I had to sail for India, but in the short time that they

then spent in London, they did me and my son the high honour of inviting us to luncheon one day. It would be presumptuous on my part to say anything about Their Imperial Majesties' genuine interest and abiding sympathy for the Princes and the people of India, which has been a matter of pride and pleasure to us all in India as well as a source of consolation in our anxieties and troubles, and of encouragement and hope as regards the future. But it will, I know, do Your Highnesses' hearts good to learn that no lapse of time or accident of distance has dimmed Their Imperial Majesties, our King-Emperor's and our Queen-Empress' affection for India or their gracious solicitude for the well-being of the Princes. - And I know that Your Highnesses will join me in the loyal prayer which comes from the bottom of our hearts that Their Imperial Majesties may long be spared to reign over the great British Empire!

APPENDIX A.

M. LE PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

May I preface my remarks by stating that I deem it a high privilege to take part in the deliberations of the Assembly of the League of Nations? Although this is the first occasion on which it has been my good fortune to attend this Assembly, I do not come as a total stranger. For my association with the League of Nations, at least indirectly, goes back to the Peace Conference when it fell to my lot to conduct the negotiations for the inclusion of India in the membership of the League. It is, therefore, a matter of special gratification to me to be present on this occasion; and on behalf of the Princes of India, whose interests I have the honour to represent, I would also take the opportunity of expressing their high regard for this association of the peoples of the world and their ardent interest in its great work to secure permanently the reign of peace and justice.

On behalf of India I desire to express our entire concurrence with the letter of the Prime Minister of Great Britain on the subject of the proposed Treaty of Mutual Assistance and his powerful advocacy of the principle of arbitration. Soldiers, I submit, are the best judges of the horrors of war. The fire-eaters are not always found in the ranks of the soldiers who bear the burden of the fight, but sometimes in those of the civilians who stand and wait. I have seen much of war in three continents and I would give my right hand in support of any effective scheme to reduce both the danger of war, and the armed peace which is the precursor of war. But we have to be jealous lest, in our anxiety to reduce the pressure of armaments, without effective guarantees for security, we produce amongst the nations that sense of uneasy fear which is the seed-bed of war. Whilst, therefore, we associate ourselves with the ideals of those who framed the proposed Treaty of Mutual Assistance, we associate ourselves no less with the Government of the British Empire in rejecting it, because we feel that the guarantees are so illusory that effective disarmament would leave a sense of insecurity which might revive the spirit of aggression.

To the general arguments advanced in the letter of the Prime Minister to which we subscribe, there are to be added special forces arising from the geographical position of India. I state them now because they must govern our attitude, not only toward the proposed Treaty, but to any amended proposal for disarmament which may come before this Assembly. In India we have a frontier problem of exceptional difficulty and complexity. Our border line stretches from the Indian Ocean near Karachi to the confines of China and Siam. Much of that frontier is peopled by hardy and turbulent tribes owning no law but the blood feud, no higher ambition than to raid the peaceful dwellers in the Plains. These tribes are saturated with arms and ammunition imported

from Europe and despite costly preventive measures, this illicit traffic has, as Mr. Ramsay Macdonald told us, not yet been brought fully under control. They contain within their clans some of the finest fighting material in the world. Other sections of the frontier consist of dense and almost pathless jungles occupied by restless tribes, who, if they have not the exceptional military qualities of those on the North-West, are nevertheless a considerable military preoccupation. Not in our time can the serious menace to the security of India contained in the frontier position be mitigated by the use of economic sanctions, or the spread of the principle of arbitration; we are bound to take account of it in fixing our standard of military strength at the minimum point which will ensure the safety of India.

There is a further consideration to which I must invite the attention of the Assembly. Whilst we hope that the present cordial relations with our neighbours may long continue, yet the fact remains that all are not members of the League of Nations, and all are not consequently susceptible to the moral and economic pressure which the League may be in a position to exercise. Again, the nations of Asia who are members of the League are so situated geographically that even if they accepted the responsibilities proposed under the draft Treaty, commanded the means to give India assistance, and had the will promptly to use them, they are not in a position to render to India that immediate effective assistance which would be essential to her security with a reduced military establishment. The immediate effect of a reduction of armaments in India would therefore be to weaken the guarantees for the security of the Indian people.

On these general and specific grounds, therefore, we have been driven to follow the action of the Government of the British Empire in rejecting the proposed Treaty of Mutual Assistance. But because we do so, I would not have this Assembly, or any member of this Assembly, conclude that we are behind any nation in the world in our desire for peace. We harbour aggressive designs towards none; we desire nothing more than to be allowed to work out our destiny undisturbed by the shock of war or the threat of war; by instinct and tradition we are a pacific people. I have stated our position frankly because of my conviction that, if we ignore facts, we shall not ensure peace, but rather induce the feeling of insecurity which may lead to war. But subject to the recognition of the conditions which I have sketched—a recognition essential to the discharge of our responsibilities for the security of three hundred and nineteen millions of people, or one-fifth of the entire human race—we associate ourselves wholeheartedly with the principle of arbitration; and with any measures which this Assembly may take for the reduction of armaments, for the establishment of the rule of law, and for guaranteeing to the nations of the world the untold blessings of a secured peace.

APPENDIX B.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I have read with deep interest the report of the Health Committee of the League of Nations to the Permanent Committee of the International Office of Public Health on its activities during the first year of its existence. I wish to express my admiration of the work already accomplished and my confident belief that the Health Committee will develop into one of the most useful branches of the League. I note with particular satisfaction that the Health Committee has initiated inquiries into malaria, leprosy, sleeping sickness, and the standardisation of sera and biological products—questions in which India has a vivid interest. I also desire to record my appreciation of the proposal for a bureau of epidemiological intelligence at Singapore, which is now taking concrete shape; for reasons which will be apparent later, this is a scheme of considerable importance to India. If I offer certain suggestions now, and put them before the Committee in the form of a definite resolution, I trust that you will understand that this is done in no spirit of criticism, but with a real desire to assist the Health Committee in their beneficent work for our common humanity.

It is often said that India is the source of diseases affecting other countries. That may be the truth, but it is not the whole truth; India is also most open to infection—indeed it has suffered grievously from diseases imported from other countries. Standing midway between Europe and the Far East, it is open to attack from the East and the West. A great tide of shipping impinges on its western seaboard; an almost equal tide of shipping beats on the eastern ports. Then India has an immense land frontier running from the Indian Ocean to the boundaries of China and Siam. Whilst it is true that this frontier is bounded by the mighty Himalaya, nevertheless there is a ceaseless flow of men and animals through the passes into Hindustan, and in the reverse direction. India is therefore perhaps more open to the entry of epidemic disease than any other country in the world. When such diseases find entry, they flourish with such intensity in our tropic and sub-tropic conditions, amongst a dense population which has not yet reached a high standard in public hygiene, that their ravages are terrific. I need only cite in proof of these general propositions facts which must be present to many here, though the real implication of those facts may not be fully appreciated. The great influenza epidemic which started in 1918 carried off in India between twelve and fifteen million souls. In my own territories these epidemics are estimated to have destroyed one in every seven of the population. Bubonic plague, which made its first appearance in 1896, is still with us, and we suffer from seasonal recurrences of varying intensity. There appears to be little doubt that both these diseases were imported. We live under the menace of the importation of yellow fever, and if that disease should make its appearance amongst us, with our myriads of mosquito-carriers, one trembles to think what the consequences would be.

The terrible pressure of these and other diseases has induced in India a sustained endeavour to grapple with them. I need not enter into an enumeration of the contributions

of our doctors to the world's knowledge of malaria, leprosy, plague, and cholera, for they are the possession of all scientists. The work of our sanitary cadres is perhaps less known. The severity of these scourges, and especially the lack of a diffused knowledge of the principles of sanitation amongst the mass of the population, has led to the organisation of a corps of sanitary officers second to none in the world in their knowledge of the best means of combating epidemic diseases under tropical conditions and amongst a dense population, and in the sanitary control of the immense number of people who flock to our centres of pilgrimage. I trust the Committee will not think I am putting the matter too strongly, if I urge that India has such tremendous issues at stake that she has a right to be constantly considered in any measures that are taken to study and control epidemic disease. I venture to add an expression of the opinion, which I think this Committee will share, that the work of the League will gain in efficiency and experience if it is kept in vivid contact with the great store of experience accumulated in India in the conditions I have outlined.

When we come to consider how this should be done, may I make one point clear at the outset? I should be the last to propose any alteration in the constitution of the Health Organisation of the League, both because it is admirably designed and it has justified itself by the work accomplished in the brief period of its existence. Nor is that necessary. The Health Committee, which directs the activities of the Health Organisation of the League, and enjoys the munificent support of the Rockefeller Trust as well as the financial resources of the League itself, is an international scientific corpus. It does not at present include any with Indian experience in its membership; it does not consist of health experts directly accredited by its Governments, and therefore able to deal with these problems with administrative authority. On the other hand, the Permanent Committee of the International Office of Public Health, constituted under the Rome Convention, does consist of men directly accredited by their Governments and therefore fully seized of administrative conditions. India has been directly represented on the Committee of the International Office of Public Health since 1907, and any Government which so desires can become affiliated with that organisation. Now the wise constitution of the Health Organisation of the League does not supersede the International Office; on the contrary, its Permanent Committee is recognised as the Advisory Health Council of the League. This constitution therefore provides for the continuous contact of the scientists working for the League with the accredited representatives of the Governments in the International Office. The report we are now considering is addressed to the International Committee, on which India and most of the members of the League are represented. I would however point out that the report is brought before this Commission for its consideration, and will thereafter be submitted to the Assembly for its approval, before the Committee of the International Office has had an opportunity of pronouncing its opinion on the programme of future work which it contains. You will, I am sure, agree that it is most important that

the limited funds available for health work of an international character should not be wasted through overlapping with similar work simultaneously undertaken elsewhere. Also, that the Assembly should know, from the accredited representatives of the Governments whose co-operation it is intended to enlist, whether the proposals of the Health Committee are not only scientifically sound—of that indeed we may rest assured from the attainments of the members of the Committee—but are capable of acceptance in practice by the Health Authorities of the Governments concerned.

There is another point. I understand that the International Office of Public Health has, after careful consideration, completed proposals for the revision of the International Sanitary Convention of 1917, designed to furnish protection against fresh diseases and in other respects to adapt international health law to modern conditions. The scheme under the consideration of the Health Committee for a new sanitary convention for the Far East, requires, in my opinion, to be related to this other draft convention, and to be discussed by the health experts of the various nations who have interested themselves in the matter, and especially with those who represent Far Eastern countries.

No doubt at a later stage the Committee of the International Office of Public Health, as our Advisory Health Council, will take cognisance of the report of the Health Committee, but it will then already have been finally considered by the Assembly of the League. In other words, the Assembly, though it set up last year a system which enables India and other nations to participate, through their designated experts, in the discussion of the programme of the Health Organisation, will be in practice deprived of the advantages of such discussions.

I recognise, of course, that it would be impossible and unwise that the Advisory Council should in all matters be called upon to advise before action is taken. Epidemics come upon

us like a thief in the night; it may be necessary for the Health Committee to initiate measures to check the advance of an epidemic threatening immense masses of humanity. Its organisation, its personnel and its financial resources are admirably designed to secure rapid and effective action in such emergencies. On the other hand, I am convinced that the association of the Health Committee with the International Office of Public Health, which was established last year, should be utilised to secure full and continuous consultation with the Governments of the world through their representatives in Europe, not only on questions affecting public health, but on such complex issues as the initiation of new sanitary conventions. I am further convinced, and I hope I shall also carry this Committee with me, that this consultation should be at a stage before the Assembly of the League has committed itself to a line of policy which may prove unacceptable to a number of States.

With this object in view, I therefore move the following resolution:—

“ That this Committee recommends the Assembly to pass a resolution paying a tribute to the valuable and encouraging report of the Health Committee. .

It further recommends that the Assembly, wherever conditions of time allow, should have before it the observations of the Advisory Health Council on the future yearly reports of the Health Committee, and especially on the questions with which the Health Committee proposes to deal, in order that occasion may be afforded for the representatives of Governments on the Committee of the International Office of Public Health to advise as to whether the proposals are such as would generally commend themselves for adoption and would enlist the co-operation of the States they represent.”

APPENDIX C.

CABLEGRAM FROM HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY, SIMLA, TO HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJAH OF BIKANER, C/o THE INDIA OFFICE, LONDON, DATED SIMLA, THE 8TH OCTOBER 1924.

Extracts from Your Highness' speech at Geneva are now beginning to reach Indian press. I heartily congratulate Your Highness on the widespread attention which the speech has aroused. I am most grateful to Your Highness for your labours on India's behalf at the meet-

ings of the Assembly. You have had long but intensely interesting meetings which in many ways have been of a most memorable character. I am glad that my prediction that the Assembly meetings on this occasion would be of unusual interest and importance has been fulfilled and I am deeply grateful to Your Highness for sinking questions of your personal convenience and agreeing to leave India to undertake the public duty of representing India on this important occasion.

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses, it is not for the first time that we have had the pleasure and the privilege of hearing a statement from His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner on his work abroad as the representative of our Order. His personality is now almost as well known in European Assemblages of International importance as it is known to us in India. Walls of International Halls in Europe have got accustomed, as it were, to the echo of His Highness of Bikaner's voice. Endowed with the qualities of the head and the heart His Highness has won the approbation and admiration of all with whom he has had the opportunity of coming in contact. His achievements at the Treaty of Versailles, the foundation of the League of Nations, and in the Imperial Cabinet are too well known to Your Highnesses to need a description from me on this occasion. The Princes of India are proud of His Highness as a member of their Order. His great work and valuable services to the Empire as well as to the Princes and the people of India give him the place all his own in the front row of world famous figures.

Above all, he never forgets that he is a Prince and an Indian Prince first and everything else afterwards. And he always bears in mind the interests of the Ruling Princes of India whenever he has the occasion of representing them.

The last session of the League which His Highness attended was in certain respects a momentous one. It saw signatures on the Peace Protocol which in the judgment of many sound critics is a fine piece of political workmanship. This Peace Protocol, Your Highnesses, is calculated to provide sound measures to prevent in the future any hasty resorts by nations to violence and man slaughter. India with its ancient heritage of a desire for Peace and brotherly love, born of its great and sublime philosophic evolution, is naturally keen on world peace; and it was only in the fitness of things that a Prince from India who had the proud privilege of being a signatory to the inception of Peace at Versailles should, at this meeting of the League of Nations, advocate the consummation of that peace at Geneva. The disarmament question was also one of the main topics at the session. His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner contributed very materially to discussions on this all

important subject. His speech on disarmaments, is that of a statesman trying to look ahead. His Highness was very wisely mindful of the peculiar conditions that prevail on the borders of India.

I am sure Your Highnesses fully appreciate the great services which His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner has rendered to our Order by his distinguishing himself so eminently as your Representative at the League. And when we realise the fact that he had to undertake this mission at a short notice and had to undertake the journey at no small inconvenience to himself, our sense of gratitude to him increases in its intensity.

I therefore beg to propose a hearty vote of thanks to His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner for his splendid work at the League.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses, I have already appropriated a fair share of the oratorical feats of this House during the present session so that I feel sure that, as we are now coming to a conclusion, Your Highnesses should be heaving a huge sigh of relief. But here I may assure you that I only stand to express in a very few words our thanks to His Highness of Bikaner, for I have already given expression to my sentiments in regard to the work of His Highness only the other day. It only remains for me to add that His Highness who is already great by reason of his capabilities, his large vision, and his power of devoting himself assiduously and energetically to his work has made himself greater on this occasion and has added lustre to his name and fame. He has not only made himself greater on this occasion but I believe has added his quota to the greatness of the Order of which this Chamber consists. Apparently, I have been asked to second this motion of a vote of thanks which has been moved by His Highness of Patiala. While entirely associating myself with the vote, I feel that this task could be more appropriately performed if I delegate it, to His Highness the Maharaja of Jodhpur whom I ask to be good enough to accept it in order that he may at least have an opportunity of giving us a speech in which I hope that His Highness will be able to defeat His Highness of Dhoolpur.

His Highness the Maharaja of Jodhpur: I support the motion.

His Excellency the Viceroy: Before the work of the Chamber comes to a conclusion let me express the thanks of

the Government of India to His Highness of Bikaner for having represented us at this momentous Assembly. I bear the entire responsibility of his appearance at the League of Nations on so important an occasion. When I asked him if he would go, I had in mind the picture as presented to us of His Highness of Bikaner as I first met him during the War. Though I had met him before on social occasions, I had never had an opportunity of conversation or discussion on great affairs. Then sitting in the Imperial War Cabinet, I met His Highness of Bikaner. Again, in Paris, when we were negotiating the Treaty of Versailles, I met His Highness of Bikaner. Again, when I went to dinner in Paris I very often met His Highness of Bikaner. The result of all this was that I came to the conclusion that he had really all the qualities that were necessary for the most successful representation of India at the League of Nations. I not only thank him in all earnestness and sincerity for having at considerable personal inconvenience accepted the mission with which I entrusted him with the cordial agreement of the Secretary of State, but I also want to say that by his speech on perhaps as important an occasion as ever presented itself to the League of Nations, His Highness of Bikaner, speaking, if he will permit me to say so, not only for the Princes of India and for your Order of which he is so distinguished a Member, but for the whole of India—speaking as one representing the Empire of India, he raised the reputation of India and showed to those who were present that India could send distinguished men to take part in the discussions of the League of Nations; that India had distinguished men who could hold their own with the Prime Ministers of the Dominions and that as a Prince of India he was also able to demonstrate that there were many qualities in which the Princes excelled. I have no doubt that His Highness was one of the best contributions that could be made to the League, of which we as Government and you, as the Order of Princes, have every right to be proud. I would only add that I am looking forward to see the full text of the proceedings of the League of Nations. I can hardly expect that every one of Your Highnesses will examine and read carefully every page of its proceedings, but you will, no doubt, make

yourselves masters of the substance of it. I myself intend to study it carefully because, in particular, I am anxious to read His Highness' speeches, and I shall also read with interest, the part taken in the proceedings by the Maharaj Kumar when he acted as Substitute Delegate. I think myself that it was a most fortunate thing that he was there and had an opportunity of witnessing what happened and hearing his father's triumph and also of gaining that ambition, which I am sure he already possesses, of taking part in public affairs in the future. I desire to associate myself with all that has been said on this occasion by Their Highnesses of Patiala, Alwar and Jodhpur, and with the vote of thanks which I know you will give His Highness, because I am confident that it will be unanimous and enthusiastic. (Loud Applause).

Agendum No. 18.

Election of the Standing Committee.

His Excellency the Viceroy: We will now proceed to the election of the Standing Committee.

(Voting then took place).

His Excellency the Viceroy: Your Highnesses, as a result of the election, the Standing Committee will consist, in addition to His Highness of Bikaner who has already been elected, of the following Members of Your Highnesses' Chamber:—

1. His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar.
2. His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanagar.
3. His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.
4. His Highness the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior.
5. His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur.
6. The Chief of Sangli.

I declare them to be elected.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; I feel it really difficult to express in an adequate manner my feelings of honour and of gratitude for the more than generous and the exceedingly kind terms in which Your Excellency has been pleased to speak about me, and for the equally generous terms in which His Highness of Patiala and His Highness of Alwar proposed and seconded, and

Your Highnesses received; the motion for a vote of thanks to me to-day. May I also take this opportunity of tendering to Your Highnesses my grateful thanks for the other marks of your trust and confidence and appreciation, which I also greatly value, in the vote of thanks yesterday and in your electing me once again as your Chancellor? May I respectfully say that if I could have consulted my personal wishes, another Chancellor would have been reigning in my place to-day? And now I can only say that I am overwhelmed with this honour and this confidence, and although I will not detain you as we are coming to the end of the session and everybody feels tired on account of the heavy work which we have transacted here and with which some of us have to deal for a long time even after the session of the Chamber of Princes will have come to an end, may I say that, if my remarks are brief and inadequate, I beg Your Excellency and Your Highnesses to believe that I am none the less grateful and sincere in acknowledging Your Excellency's and Your Highnesses' great kindness.

His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior: Your Excellency, once more it is my privilege to thank Your Excellency, on behalf of my brother Princes, for the very comprehensive inaugural address which you delivered on the first day of this Session.

We are entirely in agreement with Your Excellency's views that the meetings of this Chamber should always be well attended and that the agenda should embrace important subjects. As regards subjects, our united feeling is that, for a long time to come there need be no paucity of them, especially as, with the general progress of India and, for that matter, of the World at large, due to the extension of human knowledge in all directions, fresh problems will continue to arise in which the States are bound to be interested and with which the improvement of their administrations must naturally be closely bound up.

We associate ourselves also with the feeling of melancholy to which Your Excellency gave expression in consequence of the loss which we have to mourn from the death of five Members of this Chamber. To the families of the deceased Rulers and to their States, we take this opportunity to tender our heart-felt sympathy. We also desire to record our sense of grief at the two

grievous bereavements suffered by the noble Lady—Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal—who to-day still mourns the loss of her two distinguished sons.

Coming now to the business which has been attended to since February, 1923, by the Standing Committee elected by this Chamber, I would first allude to matters, the revised policies in regard to which, after discussion between us and Your Excellency's Government, have since been embodied in Resolutions which have issued. As Your Excellency pointed out, the result of these Resolutions will be that development will occur within the States in the matter of Railways, Telegraphs, Telephones and Mines. Your Excellency has also pointed out that the position now brought about should tend to stimulate enterprise and that the matters, in regard to which the position has thus been improved, are those which call for mutual assistance and co-operation. I would only remark that the enterprising spirit of the States needs to be given the freest possible play; and also that the assistance and co-operation which the States can render to the Government of India, in perfecting their administrative machinery and in ensuring India's economic advance, may always be safely assumed, so long as the identity of interests which, the States maintain, exists between them and the various parts of India, is recognised in a practical manner.

That there is this readiness in the States and in their Rulers to assist the Empire and to co-operate with the Government of India should be evidenced by the part which our distinguished brothers, Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Bikaner, Patiala, Cutch, Nawanagar and Alwar have willingly and enthusiastically taken in the Meetings and Conferences held from time to time in Europe to deal with problems of Imperial moment and international aspect. Modesty forbids us to expatiate on the ardour of their feeling and the splendid earnestness of their efforts which shed a lustre not only upon themselves but on our whole Order.

Your Excellency also alluded to certain subjects which have already been considered by the Standing Committee but whose recommendations have still to eventuate in Resolutions. I think it worthwhile, in regard to these questions, as well as all other questions that can possibly be discussed by it in the future, to repeat myself and to assert

that in a broad view there can be no real clash of interests between the various parts of India administered by different Governments. These parts constitute one whole—which is India—and the accident of one power or the other administering different areas in it cannot suffice to make their interests inconsistent with each other's. The point I wish to make is that the discussion of questions of public moment, that is, of questions which affect the progress of the States should be inspired by a perfect trust in such identity of aim and purpose

There is one matter to which Your Excellency made specific allusion, *viz.*, the allocation of the revenue derived from Customs by the Government of India. It is one of the matters of a fiscal nature to which we attach the highest importance: and we cannot but do so. The economic condition of India has resulted in increasing the expenditure of our administrations, if we are to keep them at a high level of efficiency. The States have not the same sources of revenue as the Government of India have. In order, therefore, to ameliorate the lot of their Subjects and to give effect to measures for the welfare of their subjects, the States are constrained to ask for what they believe to be their just dues—dues which can be clearly demonstrated as such. So far as the contribution of Indian States' subjects to the customs revenue of the Government of India is concerned, the burden of the tax falls on people who are not directly benefited by the revenue derived from it, and all economists, especially authorities on taxation, agree that such a result ensues from unsound methods of finance. We, however, are not concerned with that aspect of the question, only with the equity of the fact; and we look to Your Excellency and Your Excellency alone, as the Representative of the Crown, with whom are our relations, to right a wrong the burden of which bids fair to become increasingly intolerable.

When it is realised that the Rulers of States feel the same anxiety for bettering the lot of their subjects, as do the Government of India for the lot of the people whom they are called upon to govern, when the British Indian subject realises that the public revenues of India are not entirely the result of the taxes which he himself pays but are substantially swelled by contributions

which his brother, under the rule of an Indian State, makes, we anticipate little opposition to the practical admission of our claim, the justice of which, so we believe, there is no disposition in the Government of India to deny.

We are grateful to Your Excellency for having listened to our general request to bring the States in direct relations with the Government of India and we are confident that effect will shortly be given to the declared policy of simplification of political relations by means of providing a single intermediary, so far as the States in Rajputana also are concerned.

Your Excellency has referred to the misunderstandings to which the most honest efforts of an Administrator are subject. This is inevitable. As many minds, so many opinions. So far as the States are concerned, they share with Your Excellency this unenviable predicament. In fact their plight is worse, though in one sense also better. This is not a paradox. What I mean is that whether the motives of the Rulers of States are, or are not, misunderstood by their own subjects, it is certain that their methods of administration are objected to by others who are not their subjects. These humanitarians, burning with righteous indignation at the thought of the fancied oppression practised by the States and inspired by vivid sympathy for the subjects of the States—a sympathy which they profess in a greater measure than the Rulers of the States themselves—are ever ready to decry and denounce methods of rule which are best suited to local conditions and the genius of the people who are subject to State rule.

Luckily, however, there is the other side of the shield and we are exceedingly gratified by the words that fell from Your Excellency as regards the sanctity of Treaties being a cardinal article of Imperial policy. We are grateful to Your Excellency for the assurance which, so far as we are concerned, was hardly necessary, that every word relating to the sanctity of Treaties with States, and to the rights, privileges and dignity of the Princes that has ever formed part of a Royal Proclamation, since the first one by Victoria the Good, will always be adhered to. So far as this reflects the determination of His Britannic Majesty's Government and the intentions of the people of England, the matter has never been in doubt. If there can be any occasion for doubt on

the score of giving practical effect to the assurances contained in the Royal Proclamations, it arises out of the inherent limitations of human nature. The specific limitations we are thinking of, is a question of memory. When Acts are on the anvil, when Legislation is in the drafting stage and is directed to a certain end, it is not impossible that a provision here or even a word there might subsequently be capable of more than one interpretation. The whole mind of the Legislator or Legislators being concentrated on securing clarity for the provision desired, the safeguard necessary in respect of interests which are not in issue may possibly not find adequate expression.

If I might now turn from this important matter to a few other points which I have to urge as being of sufficient practical importance to justify their mention, I would say that the Members of this Chamber should have a more direct and effective voice in the framing of the Agenda for Your Excellency's consideration than they have at present under the existing procedure.

The rest that I am going to say to-day has entirely to do with safeguarding both the interests of the Crown as well as of the States as a body.

We feel that the need for closer intercourse and constant consultation between the exalted representative of the Crown and ourselves is to-day greater than ever—especially should matters of importance, the decision of which is calculated to affect the popularity of the King-Emperor's, Vice-regent, form the subject of such consultation. In one word, the need is clearly indicated of an Advisory Committee of the Princes with whom the Viceroy might, from time to time, hold converse. Before I develop this idea, I must point out, in no equivocal terms, that behind this suggestion there is no disguised intention of fettering the Viceroy's paramount authority in regard to relations with the States, but only a desire to be of service—to be of service in a manner which would be conducive to the achievement of more satisfactory results. Such a Committee might be consulted, for example:—

(a) in regard to policies concerned with matters affecting the economic development of the Country,

(b) matters affecting the fiscal rights of the States,

(c) matters of grave importance on the administrative side, for instance, the reconciliation of communal differences in accordance with the immemorial practice and usage of the Country which are so easily forgotten in the heat and dust of controversy. Indeed this Committee, if brought into being and freely consulted, might prove its value in regard, for example, to the organisation of the minority administration of a State, even where its Ruler had left a record of his wishes as to future arrangements. Or it might, with advantage, be utilized in regard to differences between two States over points too delicate for public ventilation. In fact this Committee could be useful, if I may be permitted the metaphor, at once as a buckler and a foil. It would thus justify its existence by disarming criticism, rendering popular the pronouncements of the British Government and ultimately strengthening its hands.

I would not elaborate the suggestion further, but would beg, on behalf of us all, that Your Excellency may be pleased to accord to it your sympathetic and careful consideration. For our part, we would continue to nurse the hope that our suggestion will be permitted to materialise before long.

Now it only remains for me to repeat an expression of our delight at Your Excellency's keen interest in our problems and at the patience and courtesy with which, as always, you have presided over the Session which now comes to a close.

His Excellency the Viceroy: Your Highnesses, it is not advisable that I should say anything just now in answer to the suggestion which has been made in the last part of His Highness of Gwalior's address, save that His Highness and Your Highnesses may feel perfectly sure that the suggestions he has made will receive the most careful consideration from me, and that these are questions which call for thought and consultation. We are now at the end of the proceedings. They have been important; they have had I think useful results. They will stand, so far as

I am aware, as a record in the proceedings of this Chamber inasmuch as we have had reports presented of International missions for the years 1922, 1923 and 1924, from His Highness the Jam Sahib for the first two years and, from His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner who, treading on the heel of events, presented his report almost immediately, and from His Highness of Alwar, whose memorable appearance and address at the Imperial Conference are well present to our minds. Let me repeat, as I have already told you at the opening of this session, I regard it as a high privilege to preside at this Chamber. I have never had doubts

about its utility, but if any doubts have existed in any mind they have not been confirmed by this session: I think it of the utmost importance that the Viceroy and Governor-General should have this unique opportunity of meeting the Princes who come to Delhi for the meetings of the Chamber, and that the Princes should have opportunities of consulting with each other, which the great geographical distances which separate them would render difficult. And now, Your Highnesses, the session comes to a close. According to the Resolution arrived at last year; we shall not meet again as a Chamber until November next, *i.e.*, 12 months ahead.

Resolutions passed by the Chamber of Princes (*Narendra Mandal*)
during the session held at Delhi on the 17th November 1924
and following days.

RESOLUTIONS.

Resolutions passed by the Chamber of Princes (*Narendra Mandal*) during the session held at Delhi on the 17th November 1924, and following days.

Resolved.—That the deep regret of the Chamber of Princes be recorded and its sincerest sympathies be conveyed to the Honourable Mrs. Edwin Montagu at the death of her husband, the tried and trusted friend of the Princes of India—the late Right Honourable Edwin Montagu.

Resolved.—That the Chamber pass a hearty vote of thanks and gratitude to H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner, for his work during the past several years as Chancellor.

Agendum I.

WORK OF HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF NAWANAGAR AT THE MEETINGS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS IN 1922 AND 1923.

Resolved.—That the Chamber pass a hearty vote of thanks to H. H. the Maharaja of Nawanagar, and offer him its sincerest congratulations on the oft-repeated success which has attended each of his various International missions, and on the valuable services that he has rendered to his country.

Agendum II.

WORK OF HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF ALWAR ON THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE IN 1922.

Resolved.—That the Chamber of Princes pass a hearty vote of thanks to H. H. the Maharaja of Alwar, upon the very able and distinguished manner in which he performed his work.

Agendum II (a).

WORK OF HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF BIKANER AT THE MEETING OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS IN 1924.

Resolved.—That the Chamber of Princes pass a hearty vote of thanks to H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner upon the splendid work performed by him.

Agendum III.

WIRELESS TELEGRAPHY AND TELEPHONY IN INDIAN STATES.

Resolved.—That the general approval of the Chamber be given to the summary on the subject as revised by the Standing Committee in August 1924.

Agendum IV.

DEALINGS BETWEEN INDIAN STATES AND CAPITALISTS AND FINANCIAL AGENTS.

Resolved.—That the Chamber of Princes generally approve the report on the subject, prepared by the Standing Committee.

Agendum V.

CONSTRUCTION OF TRAMWAYS IN INDIAN STATES.

Resolved.—That the report of the Standing Committee on the subject be generally accepted by the Chamber.

Agendum VI.

EMPLOYMENT OF EUROPEAN BRITISH SUBJECTS, PENSIONERS AND ALIENS IN INDIAN STATES.

Resolved.—That the report of the Standing Committee be generally approved and accepted by the Chamber.

Agendum VII.

COMPENSATION FOR RAILWAY LANDS IN INDIAN STATES.

Resolved.—That the Chamber's approval be conveyed to the Ministers' summary on the subject, as finally amended by the Standing Committee.

Agendum VIII.

RADIO BROADCASTING IN BRITISH INDIA AND ITS APPLICATION TO INDIAN STATES.

Resolved.—That the Chamber approve of this question being further considered at the next meeting of the Standing Committee, aided by the scientific knowledge of technical officers,

Agendum IX.

EXCLUSION OF PANTH PIPLODA FROM THE LIST OF LESSER CHIEFS IN CENTRAL INDIA ENTITLED TO VOTE FOR A REPRESENTATIVE MEMBER IN THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES.

Resolved.—That the Chamber of Princes accord its approval to the exclusion of Panth Piploda.

Agendum X.

EXEMPTION OF ALL MEMBERS OF THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES IN THEIR OWN RIGHT, FROM THE PAYMENT OF CUSTOMS DUTIES ON ARTICLES IMPORTED FOR THEIR PERSONAL USE.

Resolved.—That H. E. the Viceroy, and his Government should be requested to give their kind consideration to the question of extending the privilege now enjoyed by Princes with salutes of 19 and 21 guns, to all Members of the Chamber of Princes in their own right.

Agendum XI.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES TO BE GIVEN PUBLICITY.

Resolved.—That this matter be referred to the Standing Committee, and that liberty be given to the Standing Committee to co-opt additional members for the consideration of this particular question.

Agendum XII.

TERMINOLOGY AND PHRASEOLOGY USED BY GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS AND OFFICIALS IN REFERENCE TO, AND IN COMMUNICATIONS WITH, INDIAN STATES.

Resolved.—That the Standing Committee should examine the numerous terms used in respect to Princes and their States in their relations with the Imperial Government, and *vice versa* and in cases where such phraseology is found to be objectionable, that it should recommend suitable substitutes.

Agendum XIII.

DEPREICATION OF THE EXECUTION OF AN AGREEMENT BY A RULER BEFORE, OR A SHORT TIME AFTER, ACCESSION, OR HIS COMING OF AGE AND INVESTITURE WITH RULING POWERS.

Resolved.—That H. E. the Viceroy be requested that the Resolution of the

Government of India in the Foreign and Political Department, No. 1494-I. A., dated the 27th August 1917, relating to the Administration of an Indian State during a minority, should be so amended as to provide:—

- (a) that no Ruler should be excepted to decide, one way or the other, in regard to important matters, on the assumption of powers, and
- (b) that no Ruler should, ordinarily until seven years after the assumption of powers, be called upon to commit himself irrevocably in regard to any important measures taken during his Minority.

Agendum XIV.

LEAVE AND PENSION CONTRIBUTIONS NOW PAID BY INDIAN STATES FOR THE SERVICES OF OFFICERS LENT TO THEM.

Resolved.—Inasmuch as the Government of India revised rates of leave and pension contributions payable by States on account of officers on Foreign Service under Fundamental Rules, tend to discourage the loan of Government officers to Indian States by throwing on them an excessive and unnecessary burden, this House resolves that, as an equitable solution of the problem, H. E. the Viceroy may be requested to amend the rules by levying:—

- (1) contribution for pension only on British Indian pay and leaving the Indian States to pay the leave allowances while the officer is in Foreign Service, and
- (2) on reversion of that officer to Government service the State may be required to pay:—
 - (a) a proportionate share of the leave allowances if any, actually paid by the Government of India in respect of the leave, with extra leave allowance earned by him in Foreign Service, and
 - (b) proportionate higher contribution for pension if the officer retires within three years of his revision.

Agendum XV.

AMPLIFICATION OF FOREIGN AND POLITICAL DEPARTMENT RESOLUTION No. 427-R., DATED THE 29TH OCTOBER 1920, SO AS TO FIX A PERIOD OF LIMITATION FOR APPLICATIONS FOR THE APPOINTMENT OF COURTS OF ARBITRATION.

Resolved.—That this Chamber recommends to H. E. the Viceroy, that the Resolution of the Government of India in the Foreign and Political Department, No. 427-R., dated the 29th October 1920, be amplified by the addition of the following paragraph:—

“ No request for the appointment of a Court of Arbitration under this Resolution will be considered unless made within five years of the date on which the Darbar concerned is informed of the ruling, or receives the advice in question ”

Agendum XVI.

APPOINTMENT OF A COMMITTEE TO DISCUSS THE QUESTION OF RIPARIAN RIGHTS

Resolved.—That as no definite principles exist applicable to Indian States with regard to riparian rights, and various decisions have sometimes established different principles, which lead to difficulties in disputes between the States, the *Narendra Mandal* resolves that the following Committee be appointed to go into the whole question of riparian rights

and to report ultimately to the Chamber:—

1. H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner.
2. H. H. the Maharaja of Alwar.
3. H. H. the Maharaja of Nawanganagar
4. H. H. the Maharaja of Panna.
5. H. H. the Maharaja of Patiala.
6. H. H. the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur.

Agendum XVII.

ELECTION OF THE CHANCELLOR.

Resolved.—That according to the largest number of votes, H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner be re-elected as Chancellor, and H. H. the Maharaja of Patiala re-elected for the second place.

Agendum XVIII.

ELECTION OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE.

Resolved.—That the following Princes be elected as Members of the Standing Committee:—

- H. H. the Maharaja of Alwar.
- H. H. the Maharaja of Nawanganagar.
- H. H. the Maharaja of Patiala.
- H. H. the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior.
- H. H. the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur.
- The Chief of Sangli.

APPENDIX.

Undelivered speech, of the Pant Sachiv of Bhor on the question of fixing a period of limitation for applications for the appointment of Courts of Arbitration.

YOUR EXCELLENCY, YOUR HIGHNESSES,

I feel much pleasure in extending on behalf of the Representative Members my hearty support to the resolution which has now been placed for its consideration and approval before the House. The Resolution in question has been ably moved by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala with his usual tact supported so ably by His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner and consequently I am quite sensible that no particular remarks are necessitated in its commendation from any of the speakers.

It is also needless for me to repeat here that the original resolution of the Government of India about making a request to His Excellency the Viceroy for appointing a Court of Arbitration to enquire into an inter-statal dispute or a dispute between a State and Government and give a recommendatory judgment, which is at present sought to be amplified, was published, in order to give effect to a resolution of the *pre-Chamber Princes Conference* signifying its approval to the recommendations contained in paragraph 308 of the report on Indian Constitutional Reforms framed by its famous authors I mean Lord Chelmsford and the late Mr. Montagu to whose revered memory, this Chamber fittingly paid its last grateful tribute only two days back.

The Resolution however appears to have been left deficient in one important particular which is now hereby tried to be brought to the notice of the Government of India with a view of rectification. It provides no period in which to prefer an application for the appointment of the Court, and thus a loophole has been left, of course, unconsciously for indefinitely raking up quarrels howsoever old. The present resolution as explained by the august mover seeks to correct the omission which seems to have been due to oversight or inadvertence as is the case in so many of the documents that even the ablest among us have

to frame as we are after all ever erring human beings. Your Highnesses, had it been otherwise we would not have been required to issue correction slips after slips in our codes of rules and regulations or to repeatedly amend or consolidate Acts of legislature in view of the anomalies or difficulties we have to experience in practice. Similar is the case in the present matter and I fully trust that all of you will be pleased to unanimously pass this part of the resolution without a single dissentient voice.

The next point, Your Highnesses, in this connection is about the period of limitation to be prescribed for making the request. Regarding such points in which a period is or has to be prescribed as for instance the period of a high office such as that of a Governor or a Member of Council or the period of an elected body or legislature, there are always sure to be two sides, one saying that it is too long and the other calling it too short to obtain an insight into the affair and show one's merit with the profit of experience. But on a dispassionate consideration of the matter and in view of the analogy of the 6 years' general period of limitation prescribed by the legislature in the Limitation Act for cases for which no period has been specially fixed, I think, and I hope Your Highnesses will all concur with me in thinking that the 5 years' limitation as proposed is quite reasonable and acceptable, especially in view of the importance of the parties in dispute, as in many cases a lot of time will as shown by the previous speakers, ordinarily be taken up in securing legal and expert advice and more so in the case of small States situated a long distance from the Presidency Towns.

In conclusion, I beg to apologise for this presumption, and take my seat by requesting Your Highnesses to give your whole-hearted support to the motion of His Highness of Patiala.